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THE GLORY THAT WAS GŪRJARADEŚA

[The Mūlarāja Solāṅki Millennial
Celebration Volume]

3028

PART III THE IMPERIAL GŪRJARAS

BY

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FOREWORD

THIS work, as I pointed out in my preface to the First Volume, has grown out of an attempt to write the history of the Cālukyas of Anāhilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa, with which I had some previous familiarity. But I have no pretensions to being a historian. I confess I have little right to write on a subject on which well-known historians like Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, Dr. H. C. RAY, and Dr. GANGULY have written so ably. It was timidly, therefore, that I ventured into the field of the history of this period. I hope this book, written in the midst of professional and public engagements, sometimes of the most pressing nature, will be forgiven its manifest shortcomings. Even if it leads competent authorities to re-examine the materials, my labours would have been amply repaid.

I have named the work "Imperial Gurjaras" advisedly. The rulers dealt with belonged to different dynasties. They had different capitals. The boundaries of their kingdoms varied. But they had many things in common. They all came from the warrior clans who started their career between 550 and 700 A.C. in Gūrjaradeśa, of which the pivot was the region of Mount Abu. They were closely allied in blood and adventure. Each of their dynasties, Pratihāra, Paramāra and Cālukya, successively rose to imperial power only as a result of the decline of its predecessor, and the ultimate source of their greatness can be traced to the upsurge of Gūrjaradeśa, modern Marwar, under Haricandra in c. 550 and the aggressive vigour which it acquired under Nāgabhaṭa I when he drove out the Arabs in c. 725 A.C.; their descendants survive today under the name of Rajputs. These Kṣatriyas had the self-same political, social and cultural traditions. Their decline began with the cataclysmic raids of Aibak; their fall, when Allauddin Khilji devastated the land; and their tragic but immortal glory, when unvanquished in spirit, they laid down their life for their land and faith during the Era of Resistance between 1199 and 1526 A.C. The people on whose strength they founded empires were the self-same people who were one at least from the days when Yuan Chwang visited India in 641 A.C.; whose language was Gaurjarī Apabhraṃśa; and whose descendants now form the residents of Rajputana, Gujārat and Malwa.

Of the several problems which confronted me, some were very intriguing. 1. Were the Gurjaras foreigners? 2. Was the word "Gūrjara" as used in this period in the primary sense indicative of a race or homeland? 3. Was the region from the Karnal District in the Punjab to the Sarasvati in the South known as Gurjara or Jurz? 4. Were the people of modern Rajputana, Malwa and Gujārat homogeneous between 500 B.C. and 1200 A.C.? 5. Were Nāgabhaṭa II, Miḥira Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla rulers of the last great Empire of Madhyadeśa before the Turkish invasion? 6. If so, does not the orthodox notion that Śrī Harṣa was the last of such emperors require revision? 7. Were not the Para-

māras, the Cālukyās and the Cāhamānas the hierarchs of Gŭrjaradeśa and did they not carry forward the imperial tradition of Mihira Bhoja ? 8. Can the times of Mihira Bhoja be reconstructed ? 9. What were the causes which prevented the hierarchs of Gŭrjaradeśa from resuscitating their formidable empire when confronted with Turks ? 10. What was the nature and extent of resistance offered by Gŭrjaradeśa to the Turks between 1000 and 1200 A.C. ? 11. What led to the downfall of Gŭrjaradeśa between 1193 and 1300 A.C. ? 12. What were the inspiring forces behind the 750 years of power and culture between 550 and 1300 A.C. ? I have tried to present these problems and their solution, side by side with the historic reconstruction of the period with the aid of materials, most of which are set out in the notes.

The whole of the period from 550 to 1300 A.C. is organic. I found no justification for splitting it up into dynastic and regional records. It began when the Gupta Empire was dissolved, and Hūṇas had been driven out or absorbed. During its best part, the dominant political factors in the country were the Kṣatriya clans of Madhyadeśa. The central theme of this period in the country was the achievement of Gŭrjara warriors. During the period, except in its last stage, Kanauj remained the acknowledged capital of India, attracting the ambition of the rulers of Gŭrjaradeśa, Bengal, and the Decan. And Madhyadeśa from Abu to Benares and Pehova to the Sarasvatī formed the compact unit from where mighty influences overspread the country.

Modern histories by calling this period the Rajput period still perpetuate the faulty outlook which Col. TODD constructed out of the Agnikula legend a century and a half ago. The name Rajput, given to warriors of the old Gŭrjaradeśa by the Turks and Afghans, coupled with the theories of their foreign origins has created a mist which shuts out the historian's mind from a true perspective of this period. A historian of India in pursuit of scientific research need not reduce a living past into the classified bones of unconnected dynasties and racial analysis. If it was not a synthetic and living past, the vast phenomenon of social, cultural and traditional continuity of the country from 550 to 1300 A.C. would remain unexplained, and so would remain the still greater wonder of its being preserved after 1300 A.C. in movements of all-embracing resistance which have preserved the India of today. The theory of the foreign origin of the Gŭrjaras and consequently of Rajputs so readily accepted by some of our historians, remains not only unproven but is based on a mistaken reading of certain epigraphic and literary material.

No one can say what percentage of Aryan, Dravidian or Scythian blood ran in the veins of any Indian between the 6th and the 13th centuries. But at the beginning of the 6th century A.C. when the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas of Gŭrjaradeśa, the ancestors of the Brāhmaṇas, Rajputs and Banias of modern Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat, emerged into history,

they were steeped in the highest traditions of Aryan culture in India and knew no other origin or motherland.

Of the three great families of Gūrjaradeśa, viz. Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Cālukyas each had noteworthy characteristics. Many of the Pratihāras were warriors, statesmen and empire builders. Information about them is too meagre to supply the detailed lineaments of their character. The Paramāra kings, except perhaps Siyaka were impulsive, generous to fault, highly cultured, and devoted to learning; but they lacked the steely glitter which characterised the ambition of the Pratihāras. The Cālukyas were courageous beyond measure, shrewd, irrepressible, and possessed of a tenacity which defied adverse circumstances and powerful neighbours. They flourished for four hundred years, first, in subordinate alliance to the Paramāras and then as emperors of Gūrjaradeśa. They were vassals of the Paramāras between 948 and 1044 A.C. no doubt, but enjoyed a quasi-independence, partly because of the constant preoccupations of Muñja and Bhoja in the south, and partly due to the statesmanship of Bhīma I and his minister Dāmara, the wise. But it has been with a wrench to my old conception of the Cālukyas of Gujarat which I adopted in my historical novels that I had to surrender myself to the conclusions inevitably resulting from a general survey of materials, first, that the claim of Merutunga that Mūlarāja, Cāmuṇḍa and Bhīma were the peers in power and strength of Siyaka, Muñja and Bhoja is unsustainable; and secondly that between 948 and 1044 A.C. the bulk of modern Gujarat was in the hands of the Paramāras, not the Cālukyas.

During this period the social organisation, Varnāśramadharmā, and the common law of the Smṛtis which sanctioned it, were the strands which bound life together. The collective will as found in political action, would remain an inexplicable force until the correlated expression through social changes and legal institutions was traced. I have faintly tried to attempt such a correlation.

However much we may disapprove of Varnāśramadharmā in the light of our modern needs and outlook, it remained and remains the expression of the collective will of Indians through ages; and Indian history without an appreciation of this vast social synthesis is a soulless bundle of dry twigs. That it is desirable to replace it or mend it has nothing to do with the fact that it was and is a unique experiment in the history of the human race; and as such deserves to be studied with humility.

In this volume I have also touched the fringe of the next period (1199-1526 A.C.) which in fact is the Age of Indian Resistance. Generally the history of this period is devoted to the achievements of the Sultanate of Delhi as have been described by the court poets and historians of Delhi, and which in consequence, are accorded a space and treatment incommensurate with facts. First, except during a few years under Allaud-din Khilji and Mahmud Tughlak, Delhi was but a raiding camp with a small hinterland and several scattered outposts controlled by incessant expeditions with the

aid of foreign and local mercenaries and did not settle down into a political and cultural centre on account of the rapidity with which it changed masters during this period. Secondly, from the Indian point of view, it was a period of ceaseless resistance on a country-wide scale. Thirdly, the Turks and Afghan military captains, wherever they could, established independent principalities with the aid of local Hindu co-operation. Of this period the most tragic factor was the inability of the Indian kings to organise collective resistance on a scale sufficient to overcome the new danger. It is of the greatest importance that this period which introduced an alien factor in the country and which ended in producing factors of adjustment which still influence the destiny of the country, should be studied in the light of Indian materials which are now available.

Without the co-operation of the several members of the staff of the Bhavan I could neither have completed the book nor seen it through the press in time. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, and Prof. J. H. Dave, Assistant Directors and my cousin Shri D. C. Munshi collected some references for me. The burden of verifying the notes and preparing them for the press fell on Prof. S. D. Gyani, Professor of Ancient Indian History and my daughter Shri Kalpalata Munshi, B.A. (Hons.) Research Scholar, who have spared no pains in bringing them up to the requisite standard of accuracy. Both of them as also Shri P. H. Raman, B.A. (Hons.), Assistant Secretary, have helped me with proof reading. Shri P. C. Shah, Lecturer in Sanskrit, has prepared the index. I have helped myself to the earlier labours of Acharya Jinavijaya Muni, Director, and Shri Durgashanker K. Shastri, Honorary Professor of Bhagvad Dharma, who were also kind enough to go through some of the chapters. In one case Shri V. V. Mirashi, Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur, was good enough to give me some references. I have to express my debt of gratitude to all of them.

In 1922, I had planned to write a History of Gujarati Literature and a History of Cālukyan Gujarat. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that the pledge which I partly redeemed by writing my 'Gujarat and Its Literature' (Longmans, Green & Co.) in 1933, is now fulfilled by this work.

July 1, 1944.

26 Ridge Road,
Bombay.

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K. M. MUNSHI.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
GŪRJARADEŚA AND ITS PEOPLE	1-22
Controversy over the word 'Gŭrjara'	1
Varying boundaries of Gŭrjaradeśa	1-4
Theory of immigration of the Gŭrjaras	4-7
Literary and Epigraphic references to 'Gŭrjara'	7-13
Theory of Fire-pit origin of the four clans	14-20
Mistaken view of the History of Gujarat	20-21
Localisation of sentiments	21-22

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF GŪRJARĀ POWER	23-33
Imperial tradition	23-24
Rise of Gŭrjaradeśa	24-27
Yuan Chwang's visit to India. His account of the land	27-33

CHAPTER III

LIFE AND CULTURE (500-700 A.C.)	34-48
Dharma, the law of life	34-35
Dharma, related to Āryāvarta	35
Social organisation	35-39
Administrative machinery	40-43
Corporation of the Kṣatriyas	43-46
Corporation of the Vaiśyas	46
Corporation of the Śūdras	47
Vital movements in social evolution	47-48

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST EMPIRE OF GŪRJARADEŚA—ITS FOUNDATION	49-63
Political condition of North India on the eve of the First Empire	49
Arab inroads on Gujarat	49-51
Nāgabhaṭa. Resistance to the Arabs	51
Early Rāṣtrakūṭas	51-54
Line of Nāgabhaṭa I	55-56
Rāṣtrakūṭa's strength in the South	56-57
Dharmapāla (Pāl. Dyn.). Conquests	57-59
Nāgabhaṭa II, Āma, and his career	59-62
Rāmabhadra	63

CHAPTER V

MIHIRA BHOJA, THE GREAT	64-103
His early career	64
Five great ruling clans. Cāhamānas	64-66
Cāvḍās	66-69

	PAGE
Cālukyas	69-71
Mihira Bhoja and the Cālukyas	71-76
Paramāras	76-80
Guhilaputras or Guhilots	80-82
Geographical limits of Gūrjaradeśa	82-83
Mihira Bhoja's accession	84-87
Amoghavarṣa of Mānyakheṭa	87-89
Mihira Bhoja's power. Testimony of foreign travellers	89-91
Medhātithi's conception of Dharma	91-96
Reflection of Mihira Bhoja's age in Rajaśekhara's description	96-98
Art and Literature	98-101
Mihira Bhoja : His greatness	101-103

CHAPTER VI

THE DECLINE OF THE FIRST AND THE RISE OF
THE SECOND EMPIRE

	104-123
Mahendrapāla I, succession and early difficulties	104-105
War of succession between Bhoja II and Mahipāla	105
Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Conquest of Lāṭa and other regions	105-106
Mahipāla. Consolidation of power	107-108
Risings against the Imperial Authority	108
Mahipāla's success	109-110
Paramāra's rise to power	110
Siyaka II	110-112
Muñja or Vākpati II	112-117
Cālukya Mūlarāja, his exploits and career	117-123

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE SECOND EMPIRE—

BHOJA, THE MAGNIFICENT	124-158
Various powers in the year 997 A.C.	124-125
Alap-tigin and Sabuk-tigin	125-126
Rajendra Cōja	126-127
Sindhurāja	127-129
Bhoja's succession. Important events during his reign	129-131
His military exploits	131-132
Maḥmūd of Gazna and his raids in India	132-135
Sack of Somanātha	135-143
Bhoja's consolidation of power	143-144
Confederacy against the Viceroy of Yamini Kings	145
Extension of Bhoja's imperial Sway	145-146
His monuments	146-147
Ujjayinī, the cultural fountain-source	147-149
His literary achievements and patronage of learning	149-151
Bhoja, as a man	151-152
His last days	152-154
Anarchy after his death	154
Bhima's consolidation of his power	154-155
Cālukya Karmā's career	155-158
Lakṣmadeva's military career	158

CHAPTER VIII

PAGE

THE THIRD EMPIRE OF GŪRJARADEŚA—JAYASĪMHA

SIDDHARĀJA, THE GREAT	159-182
Jayasimha's early career and main events of his reign	159-162
His Ministers	162-163
Process of disintegration in the body politic	163-165
His early difficulties	165-167
Consolidation of power in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra	168-170
His victorious career. Conquest of Mālva	171-174
Jayasimha as a builder and a patron of learning	174-177
His greatness	177-178
His last years	178-179
Changes in the Social Order	179-182

CHAPTER IX

KUMĀRAPĀLA (1144-1174 A.C.)	183-197
Kumārapāla's accession	183-184
Main events of his reign	184-186
His early difficulties and consolidation of power	186-191
Controversy about his change of religion; his reforms	191-193
His greatness	193-195
Ajayapāla's succession; his reign	195-197
Mūlarāja II's succession	197

CHAPTER X

THE FALL OF THE THIRD EMPIRE	198-226
Events of Bhīma II's reign	198-202
Political condition of India on the eve of his succession	202-204
Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Ghūrī's invasion of Gujarat	204-205
Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Ghūrī's war against Prthvirāja	205-206
Bhīma II's resistance to the Turkish inroads led by Aibak	206-207
Period of confusion between 1200-1220 A.C.	208-210
Jayasimha's control over Gujarat	210
Marriage episode from <i>Pārijāta-mañjarī</i> drama	211-212
Jayasimha's grant to two temples	212
Bhīma's career during 1209-1223 A.C.	212-213
Singhaṇa, the Yādava King. His conquest	214
Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala	214-216
Itutmisha's invasion of Marwar and his retreat	216
Śaṅkha of Lāṭa raids Cambay and consequent treaty with Vastupāla	217-218
Singhaṇa, the Yādava's, raid on the country round Broach	218
Visaladeva's career	219-220
Arjunadeva and Śaraṅgadeva	221
The kingdom of Delhi	221-222
Karṇadeva and his Mahāmātya Mādhava	222-223
Fall of Gujarat	223-226

CHAPTER XI

RETROSPECT	227-233
Four distinct stages of the political evolution of Gujarat	227-228
Why India went under the raids of Ghūrī and Aibak	228-229

PAGE

Factors accounting for Turkish conquest	229-231
Decline of Gŭrjaradeśa : its causes	232-233

INDEX	234-256
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APPENDICES—	257-281
---------------------	---------

Appendix A(1)—Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka	257-258
Appendix A(2)—Ghatiyāla Inscriptions Nos. 1 & 2 of Pratihāra Kakkuka	258-260
Appendix B—Gwalior Praśasti of Mihira Bhoja	260-264
Appendix C—The Sanjan Plate of Amoghavarṣa	264-273
Appendix D—Udayapur Praśasti of the Kings of Malwa	273-276
Appendix E—Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla	276-280
Appendix F—Bhoja Paramāra and Maḥmūd of Gazna	281
Appendix G—Ba'ūrah	281

MAPS & ILLUSTRATIONS in all 18 (for details see pp. 282-4)

ABBREVIATIONS

AAR	— <i>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> , by Col. Todd.
ACC	—Aufrecht's <i>Catalogus Catalogorum</i> .
AASS	— <i>Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series</i> .
AI	— <i>Alberuni's India</i> , edited by Sachau.
Ait	— <i>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</i> .
ARB	— <i>Archæological Remains of the Bombay Presidency</i> .
ASI	— <i>Archæological Survey of India</i> .
ASIWC	— <i>Archæological Survey of India</i> , Western Circle.
BG	— <i>Bombay Gazetteer</i> , Vol. I, Pt. I.
BPSI	— <i>Bhavanagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions</i> .
BRW	— <i>Buddhist Records of the Western World</i> , by Beal.
BV	— <i>Bhāratīyā Vidyā</i> , (Hindi-Gujarati).
C	<i>Cōlas</i> by K. A. Nilkantha Shastri.
CHI	<i>Cambridge History of India</i> .
CII	— <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , edited by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
CP	—Rājasekharasūri's <i>Caturvīmśati-prabandha</i> .
DHNI	— <i>Dynastic History of Northern India</i> , Vols. I, & II, by H. C. Ray.
DV	— <i>Dvyaśraya</i> by Hemacandra Sūri.
Devala	— <i>Devala Smṛti</i> .
EAG	— <i>Early Aryans in Gujarat</i> , by K. M. Munshi.
EC	— <i>Epigraphia Carnataca</i> .
EHI	— <i>Early History of India</i> , (IV Edn.), by V. A. Smith.
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> .
Elliot	— <i>History of India as told by its own Historian</i> , by H. M. Elliot.
GL	— <i>Gujarat and its Literature</i> , by K. M. Munshi.
GMRI	— <i>Gujarat no Madhyakālina Rajput Itihāsa</i> , by D. K. Shastri.
GOS	— <i>Gaikwar Oriental Series</i> .
HC	— <i>Harṣa-carita</i> (Nirnayasagar edn.).
HDS	— <i>History of Dharmaśāstra</i> , by P. V. Kane.
HIG	— <i>Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat</i> , edited by G. V. Acharya.
HMHI	— <i>History of Mediaeval Hindu India</i> , by C. V. Vaidya.
HMM	— <i>Hammīra-madamardana</i> , by Jayasīnha Sūri, GOS X.
HP	— <i>History of the Paramāras of Malwa</i> , by D. C. Ganguly.
HR	— <i>History of Rajputana</i> , by G. H. Ojha.
IA	— <i>Indian Antiquary</i> .
IHQ	— <i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> .
JASB	— <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> .
JAOS	— <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JBBRAS	— <i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
JBORS	— <i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> .
JDL	— <i>Journal of the Department of Letters</i> , University of Calcutta.
JRAI	— <i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i> .

- JRAS** — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).
JPPS — *Jaina-pustaka-praśasti-saṃgraha* (Sīṅhī Jain Grantha Mālā).
KC — *Kumārapāla-carita*, by Cāritryasundaragaṇi.
KCa — *Kumārapāla-carita*, by Hemacandra Sūri.
KFB — Bālahurī's *Kitab Futuh al-Buldān*, translated by Hitti & Murgotten.
KK — *Kirtikaumudī*, by Someśvara.
KM — Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*.
KP — *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, by Jinamaṇḍana Gaṇi.
KPR — *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, by Somaprabha Sūri (GOS).
KUC — *Kumārapāla-carita*, by Jayasimha Sūri.
KUP — *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, by Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi.
KY — *Kitāb-i-yamīnī* of 'Utbi translated by Renolds from the Persian version.
KZA — *Kitab Zain ul-Akbār* of Abū Sa'il 'Abd-ul-Hay b. ad-Dahhāk b. Muhammad Gardīzī (c. 400 A.H.), ed. by Muhmad Nazim.
Manu — *Manu Smṛti*.
Markaṇḍeya — *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.
Mbh — *Mahābhārata*.
NC — *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, by Padmagupta.
NS — *Nirnaya Sagar Edn.*
OYC — *On Yuan Chwang*, by Watters.
PC — Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (SJG).
PCa — *Prabhāvaka-carita* (SJG).
PJLS — *Prakrit Jain Lekha Saṃgr. Ia.*
PK — *Prabandha-kośa* (SJG).
PPS — *Purātana-prabandha-saṃgraha* (SJG).
PV — Jayānaka's *Prthvīrāja-rijaya*.
R — *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, by A. S. Altekar.
RMR — *Rajputana Museum Report*.
RT. — Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*, ed. by Stein.
Śat. — *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.
Skanda. — *Skanda Purāṇa*.
Śrīmāla — *Śrīmāla Purāṇa*.
TA — *Tahaqat-i-Akbārī*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, translated by B. Dey.
Tait — *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.
TF — *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*, ed. by Briggs.
TKA — *Al-Ta'rikh-ul-Kāmil* of Ibn-ul-Athir.
TN — *Tahqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Maulānā Minhaj ud-Dīn, translated by Raverty.
Vāyu — *Vāyu Purāṇa*.
VC — Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*.
Visnu — *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.
VTK — *Vividhatirtha-Kalpa* (SJG).
VVI — *Vasanta-vilāsa*, by Bālacandra Sūri.
WZKM. — *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'
Yājñavalkya — *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.
ZDMG — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

CHAPTER 1

GŪRJARADEŚA AND ITS PEOPLE

IN any attempt to study the History of India certain problems connected with the history of Gŭrjaradeśa have to be examined again in the light of materials which the labours of Indian scholars have made available.

I

A controversy has arisen over the word 'Gŭrjara'. Does the word primarily denote the country, Gŭrjaradeśa, Gŭrjarabhūmi, Gŭrjaratrā or Gujarat? And has the word been transferred to its rulers and residents in its secondary meaning? Or was 'Gŭrjara' in its inception the name of an immigrating tribe or tribes and was later transferred to the tract where they first settled and to the kings and the people of that race?

This problem has been created by a failure to appraise the value of two facts. Modern Gujarat is not geographically the same as the Gŭrjarabhūmi of the Cālukyas; and modern and Cālukyan Gujarats are both different historically and geographically from Gŭrjaradeśa. The term 'Gujarat' is, at present, used in different senses by different people. In ordinary language the term 'Gujarat' is used in two senses. In the first sense it denotes the mainland between Mount Abu and the river Daman-Gaṅgā distinguishing it from Cutch and Kathiawar on the one side and Marwar and Malwa on the other. In the second sense it means the much larger language-field in which modern Gujarati is spoken. The boundary of this linguistic Gujarat in the north touches Sirohi and Marwar and includes Cutch and the districts of Thar and Parkar in Sind. Its eastern frontier runs down from the Aravalli hills along the eastern boundary of Palanpur enclosing the Bhili settlements and running along the eastern boundary of Dharampur. With the sea in the West, linguistic Gujarat tapers down to a narrow strip which ends in the bilingual area of the City and the Suburban district of Bombay. This area, within which modern Gujarati is spoken, may, therefore, be called modern Gujarat¹. But at no time in history were its frontiers co-terminous with the boundaries of any part of political Gujarat or of Gŭrjaradeśa known to history. At the same time, at no time in history were Mount Abu and the town Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla outside the boundaries of the tract known as Gŭrjara or Gŭrjaradeśa or Gujarat. Bhillamāla, therefore,

¹ GL, 1.

is the centre, the fluctuating boundaries of the province have to be measured from it.

Gujarat again is not the same thing as Gŭrjaradeśa or Gŭrjara. The word 'Gŭrjara' appears in history as applicable to a region in the middle of the sixth century A.C. Its capital was Bhillamāla. Its southern boundary was somewhere about the river Sarasvatī on which the town of Pāṭaṇa now in Baroda State came to be situated. Its northern boundary was beyond modern Jodhpur. The land was styled 'Gŭrjara', pure and simple. The names of the countries which surrounded it and which now form part of modern Gujarat were not very different in point of population, but were differently delimited. Nasik was Nasik in Mahārāṣṭra. From Bulsar to Broach was Bhṛgukaccha or South Lāṭa. From Broach to Mahi including the modern Baroda Prānta was Mālava, from Mahi to Sabarmati was Khetaka, modern Kheda (Anglicised Kaira); parts of Ahmedabad district were Āśāpallī near the modern village Aslali; north of it was Ānarta with its capital Ānandapura or modern Vadnagar. Kathiawar was divided into Valabhī and Saurāṣṭra. Kaccha was so named even then. What is Malwa now was called Ujjayinī or Avanti. The southern part of the old Gŭrjara is now included in modern Gujarat as its northernmost part and lies between Sirohi and the Sarasvatī².

In 641 A.C. when these were the geographical divisions of the territory from Bulsar to Jodhpur, and from D. varka to Bhilsa, it was inhabited by a people whose language, habits, way of writing and social institutions were one. The fundamental fact about Gŭrjaradeśa was that its divisions *viz.* modern Rajputana, Gujarat and Malwa, had one people speaking one language as distinguished from the people of Mahārāṣṭra on the one hand and Madhyadeśa on the other. In the Vedic period the allied tribes of Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas occupied exactly this area³. The Haihayas, to use their later name, the Kalacuris, who occupied the Broach region, the ancient Anūpadeśa, lost their hold on it so late as the last quarter of the sixth century. Therefore life and language appear to have evolved in one continuous process since the ancient period upto 641 A.C. when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited these regions.

One hundred and fifty years later, we find the little region Gŭrjara with Bhillamāla as its capital blossoming forth in history as the Imperial Gŭrjaradeśa. The homogeneous people of these regions under the leadership of mighty warriors and statesmen who claimed their ancestry from men who sprung into fame within a radius of a few miles of Mount Abu, had not only enlarged the bounds of Gŭrjaradeśa but established a mighty empire. These Imperial Gŭrjaras, as I have called them, had during this period shifted their capital from Bhillamāla to Jalor, Jalor to Ujjayinī, Ujjayinī to Kānyakubja, the then imperial capital of India⁴.

The Imperial Gŭrjaras of the first dynasty, who are styled by modern

² Chap. II.

³ EAG, 30 ff.

⁴ Chap. IV.

historians as the 'Pratihāras of Kanauj', looked to Gŭrjaradeśa as their homeland. That is why they were called Gŭrjaras. And the imperial Gŭrjaradeśa, under the greatest of them, Mihira Bhoja, extended in the west, from Prthūdaka in the Punjab to Jodhpur, from Jodhpur to Abu, from Abu to the mouth of Sarasvatī, so as to include the portion east of modern Wadhwan. The Sarasvatī was the southern limit; or perhaps Ānarta was absorbed in Gŭrjaradeśa. The bulk of modern Malwa also formed part of it. Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha were not in Gŭrjaradeśa but were ruled by the Imperial Gŭrjaras. The region from Khetaka, modern Kaira, or perhaps from Mahi to Kaveri in the Surat district was not in Gŭrjaradeśa, and was called Lāṭa. Lāṭa was the battle-ground between the Pratihāra emperors of Gŭrjaradeśa and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors of Kaṇṇāṭaka⁵.

Two successive raids of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one in 915 A.C. and the other in 940 A.C., broke the first empire of Gŭrjaradeśa. The political fabric which the Imperial Gŭrjaras of the Pratihāra dynasty had reared went to pieces. Every feudatory became independent. Gŭrjaradeśa from the homeland of emperors became a battle-ground of petty kings. The principal fragments of the imperial Gŭrjaradeśa were the regions of Delhi, Sapādalakṣa with Śākambharī, modern Sambhar, as its capital in the north, Gopagiri modern Gwalior, Kiradu near Jodhpur, Marwar with its capital at Naddūla, Medapāṭa with its capital at Citrakūṭa or Chitor, Jābālipura or modern Jalor, Abu with its capital at Candrāvati; Śārasvata Maṇḍala or the valley of the Sarasvatī river with its capital at Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa; Vāgaḍa or Dungarpur Banaswara state, and Malwa, with its capital at Dhārā⁶.

Gŭrjaradeśa at the height of its first Empire included other provinces also, viz. Kānyakubja Viṣaya, the region around Kanauj; Pratiṣṭhāna Viṣaya, the region around Kāśī; Jejābhukti or Bundelkhand, Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha. These also drifted away as separate kingdoms and the limits of old Gŭrjaradeśa were forgotten.

In this confusion Mūlarāja, the founder of the Cālukya dynasty captured the southernmost slice of Gŭrjaradeśa and established himself at Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa. His little principality was known as Śārasvata Maṇḍala, not as Gŭrjaradeśa. When he carved out this little kingdom for himself the Paramāra ruler who ruled over modern Malwa, Khetaka Maṇḍala and parts of Lāṭa was called a Gŭrjara. But the title 'Gŭrjaradeśvara' stuck to Mūlarāja and his successors who ruled at Pāṭaṇa. No doubt Śārasvata Maṇḍala and Satyapura Maṇḍala which he soon captured and the adjoining Abu region, were parts of the old Gŭrjaradeśa⁷. But after 940 A.C. the territory over which the Cālukya of Gujarat ruled, came to be called Gŭrjarabhūmi. And as the southern frontier of their little kingdom advanced under Karna, Jayasimha-Siddharāja and Kumārāpāla, the name Gŭrjarabhūmi or Gujarāṭa came to be applied to such accretions. Each of the other fragments of the imperial Gŭrjaradeśa was known by a

separate name, but the region from Abu in the north to the receding southern frontier which first rested on the Mahi, then on the Narmadā, and then on the Daman-Gaṅgā on the main-land, came to be known as Gujarat. The kings of Aṇahilavāḍa were invariably Gŭrjareśvaras.

The name Lāṭa as applied to the portion between Mahi and Daman slowly disappeared and the southern boundary of Gŭrjarabhūmi was Daman-Gaṅgā when Kumārapāla died in 1174 A.C.⁸ When the Muslims captured Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa the kingdom that they inherited from the Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa was known as the kingdom of Gujārāt. Thus it was Mūlarāja and his successors who acquired a part of the imperial Gŭrjara-deśa for themselves and brought with them the name Gŭrjareśvaras and it was in their time that the bulk of the peninsular Gujarat received its name.

II

The second belief almost elevated to the pedestal of a religious dogma, which consciously or unconsciously obscures judgment of this period of Indian History, is that Gŭrjaras were a foreign tribe. They immigrated to India with the Hūṇas in c. 450 A.C. Whatever the locality to which the word 'Gŭrjara' or any word of which it forms part like Gujranwala, Gujarat, Gurjarakhan is applied at present, indicates the settlement of this foreign tribe in its onward march from the north-western frontier of India to the Kathiawar peninsula. People or kings referred to as Gŭrjaras, therefore, belonged to this foreign tribe.

This theory of immigration has so captured the imagination of students of Indian History, both foreign and Indian, that everything connected with Gŭrjara is sought to be explained by it⁹. But against great names in Indian research like JACKSON, BHAGWANLAL, HOERNLE, BHANDARKAR and SMITH there has been a protest led by VAIDYA, OJHA and Krishnaswami IYENGAR, the last of whom states, "I do believe that the immigration of the Gurjaras is not such a settled fact of history for deductive applications. I did my best to examine the materials on which the theory of immigration was based and I submit that in view of all the evidence that has been forthcoming of recent years the theory of immigration is unsustainable"¹⁰. I venture to submit that there is no determinative piece of evidence that the word Gŭrjara was used to indicate the race of the person denominated; or that the person denominated was of foreign origin.

The theory began with an early bias which can be traced to European scholars of the mid-nineteenth century. Some of the inferences drawn under the influence of this bias were remarkable.

⁸ Chap. IX.

⁹ *BG.*, I, Pt. I, Appendix III; D. R. BHANDARKAR, article on "Gŭrjaras", *JBRAS.* XXI, 405 ff.; FORBES, *Rāsa-Mālā* I, 40; *EHI*, 428 ff.; *JRAS.* 1909, 53, 56; HOERNLE, *JRAS.* 1904, 639, 662.

¹⁰ *HR* I, 151; *HMHI* I, 83 ff; Krishnaswamy IYENGAR quoted in R. C. MAJUMDAR's "The Gurjara Pratihāras" in *JDL.* X, 3.

(A) The Gūrjaras were always coupled with the Hūṇas. They were 'Khazars', part of the great horde of which Juan-Juan or Āvars and the Epithaletes Yetas and the white Huns were leading elements. Therefore the Gūrjaras came with the Hūṇas to India¹¹.

(B) Sapādalakṣa is Sevālik. Sevālik is Socotra. Socotra is in Africa. Socotra was colonised by remnants of the Greek army of Alexander. The Cāpas were Gūrjaras and were therefore descended from the Greek heroes¹².

(C) The Hūṇa group of tribes permanently settled in Rajputana. The Gūrjaras were its important element. They migrated to all parts of India; among them were Gūrjara Brāhmaṇas, Gūrjara masons, Gūrjara Vaiśyas and Gūrjara cultivators. Therefore, the foreign tribe of the Gūrjaras under Brahmanical influence divided itself into four castes, and hence the foreign Gūrjaras became Gūrjara Brāhmaṇas, Gūrjara Vaiśyas, Gūrjara Kṣatriyas and Gūrjara Śūdras¹³.

(D) People calling themselves Gūrjaras are found from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Hazara mountains to the Narmadā. They are numerous in western Himālayas. A tribe of herdsmen is found calling itself Gūrjar in Kashmir. They are numerous on the banks of upper Jumna and the Doab. This distribution testifies to the tribal movements of the foreign Gūrjars¹⁴.

(E) In the Punjab, the names Gujarat, Gujaranwala, Gūrjraḥkhan still retain their connection with the word Gūrjara. Saharanpur was called Gujarat in the eighteenth century. One of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gūrjaragadh. The northern and central portions of Rajputana were called Gūrjaratrā in the ninth century. The Gūrjaras are found in Bundelkhand. The word Gujarāta of course is there as applied to modern Gujarat. There are Gūrjaras in the Narmada valley and Nagpur; and also in South India where they have drifted at least before 6th century. These places, argue eminent scholars, indicate the main stages in the onward march of the foreign Gūrjaras from Peshawar to the Narmadā.

(F) In an inscription so old as 960 A.C. a king Mathanadeva of a region now in the Alwar State describes himself as *Gūrjara-Pratihārāṇvaya*¹⁵. Therefore, he must have been descended from the emperors of Kānyakubja whose family name was Pratihāra and tribe name was Gūrjara.

As against this, is the other view which is borne out by the literary and epigraphic references of six centuries. In the seventh century A.C. a certain

¹¹ *EHI*, 428, n. 2.

¹² *AAR*, I, 106.

¹³ D. R. BHANDARKAR, *JBBRAS*, XXI, 405 ff.

¹⁴ CUNNINGHAM, *ASR*, II, 72; KENNEDY, *JRAS*, 1907, 985; BAINES, *Ethnography*, 44; BÜHLER, *IA*, XVII, 192; *BG*, IX, Pt. I, 481 ff.

¹⁵ *EI*, III, 266: श्रीराज्यपुरावस्थितो महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीमथनदेवो महाराजाधिराज श्री-सावतसूनुर्गुर्जरप्रतिहारान्वयः ... स्तथैवैतत्प्रत्यासन्न श्रीगुर्जरवाहितसमस्तक्षेत्रसमेतश्च ।

tract in modern Rajputana was known by the name of Gŭrjara. Its inhabitants were divided into Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, and were similar in race and culture to others of North India. They with the people who occupied Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, Mālava, Anarta and Ujjayinī formed a homogeneous people. The people residing in this tract whenever they migrated to other parts of the country, were known as Gŭrjaras from the name of their homeland, just as residents of other provinces like Gauḍa, Lāṭa, Draviḍa were known by the respective names of their homelands. The rulers of Gŭrjaradeśa politically consolidated the surrounding parts of which the people were homogeneous. As a result Gŭrjaradeśa grew to become co-terminous with the kingdom of its kings. The geographical units which are now known as Gujarat, which carry the word Gŭrjara in it, are isolated fragments of that larger Gŭrjaradeśa which have retained the old name while the surrounding parts have lost it, or, were towns or fortresses built or occupied by persons who called themselves Gŭrjaras. Finally the castes and tribes which bear the name Gŭrjara and the kings who styled themselves or were known as such, derived it from their homeland.

A detailed examination of the sources therefore becomes necessary. But a few correctives must not be forgotten while scrutinising such evidence.

Firstly, the absence of reference to the name of a country in the *Mahābhārata* or such earlier records does not mean that the name of the country is necessarily derived from a foreign name. Lāṭa, for instance, is not known to the *Mahābhārata* and yet no one has suggested that the name was given to modern south Gujarat by foreigners. Vāgaḍa, the name of the region represented by modern Dungarapur-Banswara, is not mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. Even Khetaka Maṇḍala is not found in old literature though its name sprung into existence between the first and the fifth century of the Christian Era. The absence of the name of Gujjara or its Sanskritised form Gŭrjara therefore from any literary or epigraphic record before the sixth century A.C. need not necessarily involve its foreign origin.

Secondly, the name of a country is used for its kings both in literature and epigraphic records, as in the case of Lāṭa, Mālava, Kuntala, Cedi etc. If Gŭrjara was the name of a country, its kings would naturally be referred to as Gŭrjara. Such use does not necessarily denote the original tribe to which the king belonged.

Thirdly, the residents of a country were always described by the name of the country. The use of the words Saurāṣṭras, Lāṭas, Mālavas for residents of these parts is well-known to literature. If the sub-conscious bias in favour of the foreign immigration of the Gŭrjaras is excluded, there is no reason whatever why the word Gŭrjara applied to Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras need be treated as referring to anything except their homeland.

Fourthly, the evolution of Hindu tradition and society shows a tendency to absorb foreigners settled in this country within the social organisa-

tion of Varṇāśramadharma. The absorptive tendency of Hindu culture was so effective that within two generations communities of foreign origin became rooted both in tradition and social institutions of the land. If Gŭrjaras were foreigners, if its warriors had been absorbed completely as Kṣatriyas, so that they traced their descent from a Brāhmaṇa Haricandra or from the Ikṣvāku Lakṣmaṇa, it would be surprising indeed if they continued to maintain the badge of their foreign origin by calling themselves Gŭrjaras. The absorption of foreign tribes in Hindu society has always taken the form of giving to military leaders the position of Kṣatriyas and others the position in the lower strata of society according to the profession they followed. But in no case except in the isolated and doubtful case of Maga Brāhmaṇas settled at Śrīmāla who are stated to be Magi priests of Persia¹⁶, has a foreign group been given the status of Brāhmaṇas. But to assume that the Gŭrjaras under Brahmanical influence divided themselves into four castes is to misread the processes of Hindu social and cultural evolution.

Fifthly, Rajputana, Gujarat and Malwa wherein are found traces of people, kings and places known by the name of Gŭrjara or any other name associated with it, were not empty places before the sixth century. From early times Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas of Aryo-Dravidian stock, and the aborigines lived there; and the foreign Hūṇas or Gŭrjars, only came if at all as conquering tribes to win, to settle, and to be absorbed among the existing population. Their number therefore could never have been so large as to displace or to absorb the population. The Rajputs of Rajputana so named only by the Muslim chroniclers could not be all Hūṇas and Gŭrjaras, who simply elbowed out the original Kṣatriya and donned the belief, tradition and culture of their victims, as if it were a cloak. And if so, where did the old Kṣatriyas go?

III

If the earliest records which refer to the word Gŭrjara are examined with the aid of these correctives the theory of immigration will appear to be of doubtful validity.

Bāṇa in his *Harṣa Carita* describes Prabhākaravardhana (569-601 A.C.), the father of Emperor Śrī Harṣa, as 'the lion to the deer which is the Hūṇa, the dangerous fever to Sindhu Rāja, the one who kept the Gŭrjara awake, the fell disease to the elephants of Gāndhāra, the thief of the expanse of Lāṭa, the axe of the creeper of the sovereignty of Mālava'¹⁷. These rhetorical references are clearly to the kings of Hūṇa, Sindhu, Gŭrjara,

¹⁶ BG. I, Pt. II, Appendix, 463.

¹⁷ NS Edn. 1937, 120 : दूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरः गूर्जरप्रजागरो गान्धाराधिपमन्धद्विपकूट-पाकलो लाटपाटवपाटचरो मालवल्हमीलतापरशुः प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो गम राजाधिराजः ।

Gāndhāra, Lāṭa and Mālava, the countries. There is no warrant for treating Gŭrjara as necessarily referring to the race, as opposed to the country of the king, nor is Gŭrjara connected with Hūṇa in such a manner or context as to suggest affinity of race.

Next are two references, one of an individual called Gŭrjara who engraved a copper-plate charter of Śrī Harṣa found in a village 32 miles north-east from Azamgadh¹⁸ and another to 'Kucharakudihai' a temple of Gŭrjara workmanship referred to in a Tamil poem *Maṇimekhalai* composed in the sixth century A.C.¹⁹ These references would equally make sense if the word Gŭrjara was applied to the individual or individuals with reference to the country of their origin. In c. 550 A.C. a Gŭrjaranṛpati invaded the region of Broach in Lāṭa from the north ; and Dadḍa I of Lāṭa is described as 'Gŭrjaranṛpativaṃśa' in the inscription of his grandson²⁰. This *Gŭrjaranṛpati*, from epigraphic evidence is now identified with Haricandra the Brāhmaṇa who founded the fortunes of the Pratihāra family in the region of modern Jodhpur²¹ which upto the tenth century A.C. was included in Gŭrjaratrā or Gŭrjaradeśa. Why should he be taken to be a king of a foreign tribe and not as referred to by the name of the kingdom he ruled over, when definite epigraphic evidence establishes that this king was a 'learned Brāhmaṇa well-versed in Vedas' ? A Javanese tradition places the arrival of Bhṛvijaya the son of Kasamcitra or Bālya Acā, (Saṃskṛta Bālāditya or Bhillāditya) king of Gujarat in 603 A.C.²²

In the seventh century the evidence is conclusive. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II of c. 625 A.C. records the defeat of Lāṭa, Mālava, Gŭrjara. This is clear reference to the kings of Gŭrjara, Lāṭa and Mālava whose territories were contiguous²³. The king of Lāṭa was *Gŭrjaranṛpativaṃśa* ; while the king of Gŭrjara can be no other than Haricandra's descendant of the Pratihāra dynasty who reigned at Bhillamāla, the capital of Gŭrjaradeśa.

As will appear in Chapter II in c. 641 A.C. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, is definite that the countries in West India from South to North were ranged as follows :—

- (a) Mahārāṣṭra ;
- (b) Bhṛgukaccha ;

¹⁸ *IEI*, I, 72.

¹⁹ N. C. MEHTA, *The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Literature*, 498, *JBORS*, XII, 502 ; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *JDL*, X, 3 n. 2.

²⁰ *IA*, XIII, 82 : सततमविलङ्घितांवधौ स्थैर्यगा [+] मि (भी) र्यलावण्यवति महासत्त्वतया त् [रि] दुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवंशमह (१) दधा (धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृष्णहृदयाहितास्पदः कौस्तुभमणिरिव विमलयशो- दीधितिनिकरविनिहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्यक्षो वैनतेय इवाकृष्टशत्रुनागकुलसंततिरूपतित इव दिनकरचरण- कमलप्रणामापजीवाशेषदुरितनिवहः सामन्तदहः ।

²¹ Appendix A, I, IV.

²² *BG*, I, Pt. I, Appendix IV.

²³ *IA*, VIII, 242 : प्रतापोपनता यस्य लटमालवगुर्जराः । दण्डोपनतसामन्तचर्यो वर्त्यो इवाभवन् ॥

- (c) Mālava, the territory between the Narmadā and Mahi and West part of modern Malwa ;
- (d) Khetaka or the modern district of Kaira ;
- (e) Āśāpalli or the Ahmedabad District ;
- (f) Valabhī and Saurāṣṭra in the peninsula ;
- (g) Ānarta, North Gujarat ;
- (h) Gūrjara ; and
- (i) Ujjayinī.

In 739 A.C. Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya of Navsari describes the conquest of the Arabs or Tejakas over different kings among whom are mentioned Saindhava, Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gūrjara²⁴. Though Cāvoṭaka and Maurya are the family names of rulers, Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra are the names of the countries used for their respective kings. The word Gūrjara need not therefore be assumed to be applied to the race of the king but to the country over which he ruled.

In 754 A.C. when Dantidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror, performed the Hiranyagarbha mahādāna ceremony at Ujjayinī, he was waited upon by 'kings led by the king of Gūrjaradeśa'²⁵. He then occupied the place of 'the king of Gūrjara'²⁶. Both these words establish that Nāgabhaṭa I, the king referred to, was of Gūrjaradeśa or Gūrjara country. This also establishes that Ujjayinī was in Gūrjaradeśa at the time or was the capital of the king of Gūrjaradeśa. The Baroda Plates of Karka, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (811-812 A.C.), refer to the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king as Gūrjareśvara²⁷.

In the *Pañcatantra*, there is a reference to Gūrjaradeśa where camels were available. This points to Gūrjara being identical with Rajputana²⁸.

In 778-9 A.C. Udyotana writing his work *Kuvalayamālā* at Jāhālipura, modern Jhalor, describes the beautiful Gūrjaradeśa and also refers to its residents in general as Gūrjara²⁹.

In 783-784 A.C. Jinasena writing Jaina *Harivaṃśa* in Wadhwan describes

²⁴ BG. I, Pt. I, 109, n. 2 : शरझसीरमुद्रोद्धारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिदारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेखसौ-
राष्ट्रवावोटकमौर्यगुजरादिरा[ज्ये] निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजि.....

²⁵ Appendix C, vs. 9.

²⁶ EI, VII, Appendix, 13 : यस्याखण्डितविक्रमस्य कटकेनाक्रम्य तीरक्षितिम् । सौधेऽस्मिन्कृतगुर्जरेन्द्र-
रुचिरे..... ॥

²⁷ IA. XII, 160 : गौडेन्द्रवंगपतिर्जयदुर्विदग्धसद्गुर्जरेश्वरदिगमगलां च यस्य । नीत्वा भुजं विहृत-
मालवरक्षणार्थं स्वामी तथान्यमपि राज्यद् (फ)लानि भुङ्क्ते ॥

²⁸ IV. 9 : समीचीनोऽयं व्यापारः तव सम्मतिश्चेत्कुतोऽपि धनिकात्किञ्चिद् ब्रव्यमादाय मया गुर्जरदेशे
गन्तव्यं करभ्रमणाय । ततश्च गुर्जरदेशं गत्वोर्ध्वं गृहीत्वा स्वगृहमागतः ।

²⁹ Udyotana, *Kuvalayamālā*, quoted in *Apabhramśa Kāvyaṭrayi*, GOS. XXXII
Intr. 93 : घयलो (ला)लियपुत्रो धम्मपरे संधिविगहं णिउणे । 'णउरे भल्लुउं' भणिरे अह पेच्छइ
गुज्जरे अवरे ॥ प्हाउलित्त-विलित्ते कयसीमंते सुसोहियपुगते । 'आहम्ह काई तुम्ह मितु' भणिरे पेच्छइ लाडे ॥

the country to the east of it as being ruled by Vatsa, the king of Avanti. This country can only be Gūrjaradeśa³⁰.

In 837 A.C. Bāuka, a descendant of Haricandra, the Pratihāra, was ruling over Gūrjaratrā or Gūrjarabhūmi from Mandor, near Jodhpur³¹. Bucakalā in the same State is referred to as Nāgabhaṭa II's 'own land'³².

In 844 A.C. the inscription of Mihira Bhoja distinctly refers to the land in which Deṇḍavānaka in modern Jodhpur, the village granted, is situate as Gūrjaratrābhūmi³³. In 850 A.C. the village of Maṅgalānaka in modern Jaipur is referred to as Gūrjaratrā Maṇḍala³⁴. This is so called in view of the fact that Gūrjaradeśa was the home-land of Mihira Bhoja.

From the Gwalior Praśasti of Mihira Bhoja (c. 843 A.C.)³⁵, the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarṣa (c. 871)³⁶ and from Rājasekhara's works (c. 920)³⁷ to Someśvara's (c. 1104-1254 A.C.)³⁸ it is clear that the name of a country was often used to denote its king and not the name of his race.

In 851 A.C. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, refers to Mihira Bhoja as the ruler of Jurz or Gūrjara. He, therefore, testifies that in spite of being the master of the largest empire in India, the emperor was known pre-eminently as the king of Gūrjara. Abu-Zaid refers to Jurz as the empire, in which the country of Kanauj is situated. Ibn-Khurdādha, Al-Mas-udi (c. 900), Al-Idrisi and Baladhuri also refer to Jurz as the empire³⁹.

In 861 A.C., the inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka's successor Kakkuka of Mandor refers to Gūrjaratrā and Gūjjarāta as the land⁴⁰.

In c. 867 A.C. Mihira Bhoja's army is referred to as the army of 'Gūrjara', that is, the king of Gūrjara⁴¹.

³⁰ I.A. XV, 141 : शाकेष्ववशेषेषु सप्तसु दिशां पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपतौ श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् । पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्साधिराजेऽपरां सौर्यानामधिमण्डले जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥ also cf. *Bṛhatkathā Kośa*, S.J.C. Intr. 121.

³¹ Appendix A, 1, vss. 27, 28, 29.

³² EI. IX, 199 ff. : महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनागभट्टदेवस्य विषये प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये.....

³³ EI. V, 211 : गुर्जरत्राभूमौ डेण्डवानकविषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्वसिवाग्रामाग्रहारे ।

³⁴ EI. V, 210, n. 3 : श्रीमदगुर्जरत्रामण्डलान्तःपातिमंगलानकविनिर्गत.....

³⁵ Appendix B, vss. 2, 3, 4. ³⁶ Appendix C.

³⁷ Rājasekhara, *Bālabhārata*, NSP. Edn. I, 7-8 : नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलानां, रणकलितकलिङ्गः केलितद्वकेलेन्दोः । अजनि जितकुलतः कुन्तलानां कुठारः दृष्टाहतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥ तेन च रघुवंशमुक्तामणिनाऽऽयुर्वर्तमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीनिर्भयनरेन्द्रनन्दनेनाधिकृतः सभासदः सर्वान्.....

³⁸ Someśvara, *Kirtikaumudī* I, 25 :

अपारपौरुषोद्गारं खड्गारं गुहमत्सरः । सौराष्ट्रं पिष्टवानाजौ करिणं केसरीव यः ॥

³⁹ ELLIOT, I, 13 ff.

⁴⁰ Appendix A, 1, vs. 3.

⁴¹ I.A. XII, 181, vs. 381 : गुर्जरबलमतिबलवत् समुद्यतं बृंहितं च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं लीलया येन ॥

In c. 890 A.C. Saṅkaravarman, the king of Kashmir, defeated Alakhāna, the king of Gūrjara, an ally of the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi kings of Afghanistan :

“ The firmly rooted fortune of Alakhāna, the king of Gūrjara, he uprooted in battle in a moment, and made a long grief to rise (in its place). ”

The ruler of Gūrjara gave up to him humbly the Ṭakkaland preserving (thereby) his own country as (if he had saved) his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger.

He caused the sovereign power, which the superior king Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Thakkaiya family, who had become his servant in the office of chamberlain ”⁴².

Alakhāna's kingdom formed part of the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers south of Darvabhisara, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east. Mihira Bhoja was his suzerain. Here the word Gūrjara is clearly used for a country, not for a race. This reference together with the testimony of foreign travellers show that even Kānyakubja was considered by visitors to be within the empire of Gūrjaradeśa.

In 915 A.C. Mahīpāla, the grandson of Mihira Bhoja, is referred to as the roaring Gūrjara⁴³. The same emperor at the same time is also referred to as the Gūrjara.

c. 950 A.C. Yaśovarman the Candella king is described as ‘ a scorching fire to the Gūrjaras ’,⁴⁴ referring to the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj.

IV

c. 942 A.C. Mūlarāja Solāṅki and his successors adopted the title of Gūrjaraśvara, possibly because they came from Gūrjaradeśa or because Sārasvata and Satyapura maṇḍalas over which Mūlarāja ruled formed part of Gūrjaradeśa⁴⁵.

⁴² RT. V, 149-55. (STEIN'S Eng. Trans. I, 205 ff) : उच्चखानालखानस्य संख्ये गूर्जरभूभुजः । बद्धमूलां क्षणालक्ष्मीं शुचं दीर्घामरोपयत् ॥ तस्मै दत्त्वा टक्कदेशं विनयादङ्गलीमिव । स्वशरीरमिवापासीन्मण्डलं गूर्जराधिपः ॥ हृतं भोजाधिराजेन स साम्राज्यमदापयत् । प्रतीहारतया भृत्यीभूते थक्कियकान्ये ॥

⁴³ BG. I, Pt. I, 128, n. 4 : धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचापवलये यस्येत्यम्बदागमे, गर्जद्गूर्जरसंगरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः शंसति ॥

⁴⁴ EI. I, 126 : गौडकीडालतासिस्तुलितखसव(ब)लः कोशलः कोशलानां, नश्यत्कस्मी(क्ष्मी) रवीरः शिथिलितमिथिलः कालवन्मालवानाम् । सीद[त्सा]वयचेदिः कुरुतरुषु मरुत्संज्वरो गूर्जराणां, तस्मात्तस्यां स जज्ञे नृपकुलतिलकः श्रीयशोवर्म्मराजः ॥

⁴⁵ JA. VI, 191 f. : चौलुकिकान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीमूलराजः । महाराजाधिराज श्रीराजिमुतः ॥ निजभुजोपार्जितसारस्वतमण्डले श्रीमोदेरकीयाद्वाष्ट्रमेधु कम्बोदकाग्रामे समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वि-वासिजनपदांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः सुविदितं ।

c. 953 A.C. Siyaka, the Paramāra king, who ruled over West Malwa and modern Gujarat except Sārasvata maṇḍala, is described as a Gŭrjara king⁴⁶. Narasiṃha, the general of Kṛṣṇa III who conquered Malwa, modern Gujarat and parts of Rajputana, is styled 'Gŭrjarādhirāja'⁴⁷, the king of Gŭrjara.

c. 953 A.C. About 1800 Gŭrjaras of Bhinmal migrated from it⁴⁸. They were of all castes, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas and Sūdras. This word, therefore, must mean Brāhmaṇas and others from Gujarat, as there are Brāhmaṇas and others from Gauḍa, Draviḍa, Kashmir etc. This again shows that migrating people from Gŭrjaradeśa called themselves Gŭrjaras.

960 A.C. Mathanadeva of the Rājora (modern Alwar) inscription calls himself the descendant of Gŭrjara Pratihāras. It can as well be translated as Pratihāra of Gŭrjara country rather than Pratihāra clan of the Gŭrjara race. The same inscription refers to some 'Śrī Gŭrjjara' as cultivating some field⁴⁹. This would only mean that the modern Alwar State was outside the limits of Gŭrjaradeśa; that some community migrating from Gŭrjaradeśa and calling themselves by the name of their home-land tilled the fields in Rājora.

989 A.C. The Cedi king refers to his grandfather having defeated the Gŭrjara, presumably the Pratihāra monarch of Kanauj⁵⁰.

c. 997 A.C. Kṣemendra in this *Auṭiya-vicāra-carcā* describes the war between Muñja, identified as Vākpati II, and Mūlarāja of Pāṭaṇa as one between the lion of Mālava and the lord of Gŭrjara⁵¹. Sārasvata and Satyapura maṇḍalas, over which alone Mūlarāja ruled at the time, formed the southernmost part of the old Gŭrjaradeśa. Other parts of Rajputana had come to be known by different names. In the inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi in c. 997 A.C. Mūlarāja is again referred to as Gŭrjjareśa, the lord of Gŭrjara⁵².

⁴⁶ R. 120 ff.

⁴⁷ EI. V, 176 : कृष्णराजोत्तरदिग्विजयविदितगूर्जराधिराजस्य.....

⁴⁸ BG. I, Pt. I, 469.

⁴⁹ Ante, note 15.

⁵⁰ EI. XI, 142 : वज्जालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपा[ण्ड्य]], लोदेशलुण्ठनपटुर्जितगूर्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीर-वीरमुकुटार्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥

⁵¹ *Kāvyamālā* Edn., 136 ff. : त्वत्पादान्तरजः प्रसादकणिकालोभोन्मुखस्तन्मरौ मन्ये मालवसिंहगूर्जर-पतिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते ॥ ममानि द्विषतां कुलानि. समरे त्वत्खड्गधाराकुले नाथास्मिन्निति बन्दिवाचि बहुशो देव श्रुतायां पुरा ॥ मुग्धा गूर्जरभूमिपालमहिषी प्रत्याशया पाथसः कान्तारे चकिता विमुञ्चति मुहुः पत्युः कृपाणे द्यौः ॥

⁵² EI. X, 20 ff. : भंक्त्वा घाटं घटाभिः प्रकटमिव मदं मेदपाटे भटानां जन्ये राजन्यजन्ये जनयति जनताजं रणं मुञ्जराजे । [श्री]माणे [प्र]ण्टे हरिण इव भिया गूर्जरेषो विनष्टे तत्सैन्यानां स(श)रण्यो हरि-रिव शरणं यः सुराणां व(ब)भूव ॥ × × × यं मूलादुदमूल्यदुग्धबलः श्रीमूलराजो नृपो दर्पाधो धरणी-वराद्वृत्पति यद्विद्व(विद्व)पः पादपं । आयान्तं भुवि कादिशीकमभिको यस्तं शरण्यो द्यौ रंघ्रायामिव रुद्धमूढमहिमा कोलो महीमण्डल ॥

c. 1040 A.C. Alberuni refers to Gujarat as a country in Rajputana. He calls its capital Bazan or Narayan⁵³.

c. 1050 A.C. Bhojadeva in *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana* refers to Gūrjara as a people of the land⁵⁴. In 1097 A.C. Bilhaṇa refers to the people of modern north Gujarat as Gūrjara⁵⁵. In 1124 A.C. the word Gūrjjara is used in the play *Mudrita Kumudacandra* for the people⁵⁶. In 1136 A.C. Gūrjjaradeśa is referred to by Candrasūri in *Mumisuvarata svāmīcarita*⁵⁷.

Jayasimha Siddharāja in the Dohad inscription dated c. 1139 A.C. is referred to as the king of Gūrjaramaṇḍala⁵⁸. In 1154 A.C. Jinadattasūri refers to Gūrjjaratā⁵⁹. Hemacandra used the word Gūrjara for residents of modern north Gujarat and Gūrjarendra for the Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa⁶⁰.

1168 A.C. Kumārapāla is referred to by Yaśahpāla as Gūrjarapati⁶¹.

1184 A.C. Somaprabha in his *Kumārapālapratibodha* refers to the land as Gūrjjaradeśa⁶². Someśvara in *Surathotsava* refers to the king of Pāṭaṇa as the enjoyer of the land of Gūrjara⁶³.

1228 A.C. Pūrṇabhadra in the *Maharṣi-carita-praśasti* refers to Gūrjarabhūmi⁶⁴.

⁵³ ELLIOT I, 59.

⁵⁴ II, 13, NSP Edn. 1934, 142 : शृण्वन्ति लटभं लाटाः प्राकृतं संस्कृतद्विषः । अपभ्रंशेन तुष्यन्ति स्वेन नान्येन गूर्जराः ॥

⁵⁵ *Vikramāṇkadevacarita* XVIII, 97 : कक्षाबन्धं विदधति न ये सर्वदैवाविशुद्धास्तद् भाषन्ते किमपि भजते यज्जुगुप्सास्पदत्वम् । येषां मार्गे परिचयवशादर्जितं गूर्जराणां यः संतापं विधिलमकरोत्सोमनाथं विलोक्य ॥

⁵⁶ *Sri Jain Yaśo Vijaya Grantha Mālā* 8 : जर्जरीकृतगूर्जरजनगर्जितकक्ष, तार्किकचक्रचूडामणे...

⁵⁷ *Peterson Report* V, 80 : गुज्जरदेसमि.....

⁵⁸ *IA*, X, 159, vs. 62 : श्रीजयसिंहदेवोऽस्ति भूपो गूर्जरमंडले । येन कारागृहे क्षितौ सुराष्ट्रमाल-वैश्वरौ ॥ अन्येऽप्युत्सादित्वा येन सिन्धुराजादयो नृपाः । आज्ञां शिरसि शेषेव वाहिता उत्तरे नृपाः ॥

⁵⁹ *Ganadhara Sārdha Sataka. Prakaraṇa* 68, Bombay, 1916 : परिहरिय गुरुक्रमागय वरवत्ताएवि गुज्जरताए । वसहिनिवासो जेहि फुडीकओ गुज्जरताए ॥

⁶⁰ *DV*, VI, 7, BSS. 447 : सुगूर्जरं हेतुरनेकभारद्वाजं वरो गीतगुणजिगम्भम् । स्थितोऽधिसद्भूतयुप-गूर्जरेन्द्रे स्वरीशितुः पुत्र इवैष रेजे ॥

⁶¹ *GOS*. IX, 16 : एको यः सकलं कुतूहलितया बभ्राम भूमण्डलम् , प्रीत्या यत्र पतिवरा समभवत् साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीः स्वयम् । श्रीसिद्धाधिपविप्रयोगविधुरामप्रीणयद्यः प्रजाम् , कस्यासौ विदितो न गूर्जरपतिश्रौ-लुक्क्यवशाध्वजः ॥

⁶² *Ibid*. XIV, 3 : गरुओ गुज्जरदेसो नगरागरगामगोउलाइन्नो । सुर-लोय-रिद्धिमय-विजय-पंडिओ मंडिओ जेण ॥

⁶³ *Kāvya Mālā*, No. 73, Bombay, 1902, 103, XV, 8 : सोलः सलीलमवनीमवतामसौ वः सौवास्तिकोऽस्त्विति वरं स्मरता स्मरारेः । श्रीगूर्जरक्षितिभुजा किल मूलभाजदेवेन दूरमुपस्थ पुरो दधे यः ॥

⁶⁴ *Catalogue of Palm Leaf MSS.* in the Bhandars at Jesalmere, End., I. *GOS*. श्रीमद्गूर्जरभूमिभूषणमणौ श्रीपत्तने पत्तने, श्रीमद्दुर्लभराजदेवपुरतो यश्चैत्यवासिद्विपान् । निर्लोच्यागमहे-युफिनस्वरैवासं गृहस्थालये साधूनां समतिष्ठपन्मुनिमृगाधीशोऽप्रभृष्यः परैः ॥

V

Connected with the same mis-conception is the belief that the Pratihāras, the Cālukyas, the Cāhamānas and the Paramāras rose from the fire-pit of the sage Vasiṣṭha at Mount Abu. It is first recorded in his *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* by Padmagupta⁶⁵ who flourished between 975-1025 A.C., a contemporary of Vākpati Muñja and of his successor Sindhurāja. The story also finds place in the Udaipur Praśasti of Udayāditya⁶⁶ :

“ There is in the West a son of the Himālayas, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (Abu), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (true) knowledge and (is) the place where the conjugal union of the Siddhas is perfect. There, Viśvāmītra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vasiṣṭha's) power, a hero arose from the firepit, who worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow ; then that sage spoke : “ Thou wilt become a lord (of kings) called ‘ Paramāra ’ ”.

Later inscriptions repeat the same story. The bards also have given currency to it. From the fire-pit came a hero named Prthivīdhara which was contracted to Pratihāra or Parihāra ; the second came out of Brahmā's hands and was called Cālukya. The third named Paramāra or the slayer of the enemies and the fourth who came with four arms, was called Catu-raṅga or the Cāhamāna⁶⁷. The Vadnagara praśasti of Kūmarapāla of 1151 A.C. states that the Cālukyas came out of the hollowed palm of Brahmā⁶⁸. From this myth inference was drawn, based no doubt upon the theory of immigration, that the Pratihāras, the Cāhamānas, the Cālukyas and the Paramāras were the four clans of the Gūrjara tribe and that the fire-pit myth was the memory of the purgation ceremony performed by them on their conversion to Hinduism⁶⁹. Throughout, the discussion of the origin of the four Kṣatriya clans of Gūrjaradeśa is biassed by the underlying assumption that the three other clans were intimately connected with the Pratihāras ; that the Pratihāras called themselves Gūrjaras and therefore were foreigners. Therefore, all the four clans were of foreign descent.

In the obscure knowledge of a century ago FORBES describes the Gūrjara king “ as one who had only adopted some form of Hindu rituals, a believer in luck, amused by the mystic power of rival Buddhists, Jains and Brahmins, patronising the one or the other form of faith as whim prompted or the charm of women persuaded, or as the power of some inspired teacher or wonder-worker compelled ”⁷⁰.

Vincent SMITH says “ It is now definitely proved that Bhoja

⁶⁵ XI, 64-72.

⁶⁶ Appendix D, vss. 5, 6.

⁶⁷ AAR, 113.

⁶⁸ Appendix E, vs. 2.

⁶⁹ JRAL, 1911, 42.

⁷⁰ As quoted by K. D. KORA in his article on the Cāvḍas in *M. J. Vidyālaya Silver Jubilee Volume*, 59.

(A.C. 840-90), his predecessors and successors, belonged to the Pratihāra (Parihār) clan of the Gŭrjara tribe or caste, and, consequently, that the well-known clan of Parihār Rajaputs is a branch of the Gŭrjara or Gujjar stock"⁷¹. An examination of the earliest records of these races destroys the theory of immigration, as also the theory of these clans being converted to Hinduism under the shadow of Abu.

One fact comes out clear, that these four clans all came out from the region of Abu, that is, the Gŭrjara country as described by Yuan Chwang and that of them the Pratihāra was the most prominent.

The epigraphic records of the Pratihāras not only do not convey the faintest indication of foreign origin, but on the contrary, definitely connect their lineage with Haricandra, a Brāhmaṇa of the early sixth century versed in the Vedas and Śāstras, who by his Kṣatriya wife became the founder of the Pratihāra line of Gŭrjaradeśa and was the Gŭrjara-nṛpati from whom the kings of Lāṭa were descended. Why should Haricandra be taken to be a learned Brāhmaṇa, and yet for no reason except the theory of immigration be considered as having begun "his life as preceptor in one of the peaceful settlements in the Punjab and when the tribes once more resumed their military campaign his racial instincts triumphed over the veneer of his borrowed culture and he changed the *Śāstra* for the *Sastra*"⁷²? Why this explanation when the simplest one will suffice that Haricandra in fact was a Brāhmaṇa Pratihāra or the chamberlain of a king, married to a Kṣatriya wife, and that by his military prowess acquired the kingship of Gŭrjaradeśa?

In 750 A.C. we learn that Nāgabhaṭa I, who revived the Pratihāra power, claimed descent from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Śrī Rāmacandra of the Ikṣvāku race.⁷³ Nāgabhaṭa's successors were styled Raghukula Cakravarti till 950 A.C.⁷⁴. None of their records refer to them as having come out of the fire-pit till Padmagupta's time when their best days were over. And it was left to modern scholars to discover that these emperors were foreigners.

The Cāhamānas were closely associated with the Pratihāras from the earliest times as a Kṣatriya clan of Gŭrjaradeśa. In 756 A.C. Bhartṛvṛddha II, the Cāhamāna, was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa I of Gŭrjaradeśa ruling at Broach⁷⁵. He was a devotee of Śiva. He had Brāhmaṇa ministers. He gave grants to Brāhmaṇas and his family were "exalted with a large army and had added to the territory of Lāṭa". For six generations his family had either resided in Lāṭa or were associated with the Pratihāras of

⁷¹ EHI., 427.

⁷² MAJUMDAR, JDL. X, 15.

⁷³ Appendix B, vss. 2, 3.

⁷⁴ IA., 1913, 62, vs. 19 : तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं, युद्धे येन नरेश्वराः प्रतिदिशं निर्णाः सिता जिष्णुना । कारावेदमनि भूरयश्च विवृतास्तावद्विषावदग्ने तन्मुत्तर्यमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्ती स्वयम् ॥

⁷⁵ EI. XIII, 197-204 : तस्य [सु]तः समस्तसङ्ख्याधारभूतः परममहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द-
(ब्दो) महासामंताधिपतिः श्रीमद्भूतवृद्धः ॥

Gŭrjaradeśa and came with them to Lāṭa in 750 A.C. Giving a period of 25 years to a generation we get back to c. 550 the date of Maheśvaradāma the founder of the Cāhamāna family. The rise of the first Cāhamāna known to history must have therefore synchronised with the rise of Haricandra. Maheśvaradāma therefore must have been either connected with the kings of Lāṭa who were descended from Haricandra or his descendants would have come with Nāgabhaṭa. If any importance is given to the word 'Dāma' it gives an indication as to his ancestors' association, either by heredity or otherwise, with the western Kṣatrapas like Jayadāman or Rudradāman (c. 150 A.C.).

An early Cāhamāna is Vāsudeva, the founder of the dynasty which ruled at Sambhar⁷⁶. The *Prabandha Kośa* gives 551 A.C. as the date of Vāsudeva⁷⁷ and it is certain that his descendant Guvaka attained prominence in the court of the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II and his grand-daughter Kāñcanadevī was married to Mihira Bhoja, the emperor⁷⁸ (c. 815 A.C.). The inference therefore is that about the time of Haricandra another Kṣatriya in close association with him established himself at Sambhar and from about 700 A.C. was in subordinate alliance with the Pratihāras.

The Cāhamānas in the days of their glory never claimed the fire-pit origin, nor did their panegyrists. For, the author of Bijolia stone inscription (1169 A.C.) and of *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya* (1179-92 A.C.) and Nayacandra Sūri, the author of *Hammīra-mahākāvya*⁷⁹ (1283-1301 A.C.) know of no such origin. The last two authorities claim their descent from the Sun just as the Pratihāras did.

Before the region of Śākambharī, modern Sambhar, came to be known as Sapādalakṣa⁸⁰, it was known as Jaṅgaladeśa. Hemacandra himself refers to it as Jaṅgaladeśa of which the capital was Ahicchatrapura. OJHA'S identification of Jaṅgaladeśa with the region of Bikaner and northern Marwar also is correct and it falls within the frontiers of early Gŭrjaradeśa⁸¹. According to the Bijolia inscription, Sāmanta, the first Cāhamāna in the list, was a Brāhmaṇa born in the Vatsa gotra in Ahicchatrapura. There is therefore no doubt that in or about 500 A.C. the Cāhamānas were settled in the

⁷⁶ PV, III, 1-5.

⁷⁷ *Report on Sans. MSS. in Southern India*, HULTZSCH, III, 112, No. 1966.

⁷⁸ For Vāsudeva—*JRAS.*, 1913, 259-81. Harṣa's Stone inscription (973 A.C.), which is the earliest inscription of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, places Guvaka as the first great prince of the line—*EI.* XIX, Appendix 14, No. 82. For his relation with Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815 A.C.) see *IA*, 1911, 239, *Ibid.* 1913, 58. For Kāñcanadevī's marriage see PV. vss. 30, 31.

⁷⁹ *IA.*, VIII, 55, 73.

⁸⁰ The old theory that Sapādalakṣa was Siwālik, a range parallel to the Himālayas and the Cāhamānas came from there (*BG.* I, Pt. I, 157, 158, n. 1) is clearly unsustainable. *JASB.*, 1886, XL, I, 14 ff.; Sunda Hill inscription of Caciḡa (1263 A.C.) *EI.* IX, 70 ff.; Mt. Abu inscription of Luntiga (1321 A.C.) : *EI.* IX, 79 ff.

⁸¹ *JRAS.*, 1913, 264 ff.; *NPP.* II, Pt. III; *JASB.* 1922, 289.

Ajmere region and for six hundred years they claimed their descent from a Brāhmaṇa of Ahicchatra born in the Vatsa gotra. The Cāhamānas continued to be the feudatories of the imperial Pratihāras of Gŭrjaradeśa.

The theory of the stages of immigration is also destroyed by chronological survey of the references. In c. 500 A.C. the Gŭrjaras were in Śrīmāla. A little later they are found in Tamil Nād. In the ninth century, parts of Rajputana, Punjab and modern Gujarat were Gŭrjaradeśa. Mathanadeva's inscription of 960 A.C. is dated 20 years after the empire of Gŭrjaradeśa was broken up, after a brilliant career of two hundred and odd years. On these facts the migration, if any, would appear to have radiated from the Abu region. The facts that the Pratihāras began from Śrīmāla, progressed to Ujjayinī, captured Kanauj and spread their power from Kabul to Assam, and the Cāhamānas began from Jaṅgaladeśa to Sambhar, then to Delhi which they captured from the Tomaras⁸², and then to further north to the Punjab, indicate that the line of their advance is quite contrary to the supposed progress of the foreign tribe from north to south. But no line of progress can be inferred from stray references spread over centuries and a vast area, and found as unrelated remnants of a fragmented part.

The Cālukyās, to which family Mūlarāja (942-999 A.C.) of Anahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa belonged, were also closely associated with the imperial Pratihāras. As pointed out later, Bhuvaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka, from whom Mūlarāja is said to have drawn his descent, was no other than the Pratihāra emperor Mihira Bhoja, the Emperor of Gŭrjaradeśa himself. Mūlarāja's ancestors were also associated with the Cālukyās connected with Mathurā⁸³. And the grants of 893 and 899 A.C. show that Saurāṣṭra was under the Cālukya feudatories of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla I (c. 893-907 A.C.).⁸⁴ Mihira Bhoja himself appears to have invaded Saurāṣṭra and married a daughter of the Cālukya feudatory⁸⁵. Avanivarman's great-grand-father Bāhukadhavala was a feudatory in Saurāṣṭra of the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815 A.C.). Therefore it stands to reason that the Cālukyās were the associates of the Pratihāras at the latest from the eighth century. In c. 700 A.C. there was a Cālukya king whose daughter was kidnapped by Indra the father of Dantidurga the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king from Kaira in modern Gujarat in about 722 A.C.⁸⁶

Going back further Pulakeśi I, the Cālukya conqueror, came to the throne of Vātāpi, modern Badami somewhere about 543 A.C. His grand-father Jayasimha was the founder of the fortunes of the family. Yuan Chwang calls Pulakeśi II, whom he met at Nasik, a Kṣatriya⁸⁷; and on his

⁸² Harṣa's Stone Inscription, n. 78 *supra*.

⁸³ KVC, I, 18; BV (Hindi-Gujarati) I, 86. निर्माणाकलोभयं कुबलयं स्वाराज्यवैहासिकश्रीकं राज्यमतिष्ठिपत् किल मधूपत्मा (द्वा)भिधे पत्तने ॥

⁸⁴ EI, IX, 1-10.

⁸⁵ IHQ, V, 129-133.

⁸⁶ Appendix C, vs. 7.

⁸⁷ OYC., 239.

conquest of Lāṭa, cadets of his family became its kings. The Cālukyas came from Ayodhyā⁸⁸. It is therefore clear that the Cālukyas might have come from Ayodhyā to the west latest in the latter half of the fifth century and its northern branch was associated with the Pratihāras from the seventh century. And yet a historian of the acumen of Vincent SMITH says, 'The Cālukyas or Solankis were connected with the Cāpas and so with the foreign Gujjara tribe of which the Cāpas were a branch and it seems to be probable that they immigrated from Rājputāna to the Deccan'⁸⁹. This statement implies several unwarranted assumptions. The Cālukyas were connected with the Cāpas, the Cāpas were a branch of the Gūrjara tribe, the Gūrjaras were a foreign tribe, and that they must have migrated to the Deccan from Rajputana!

In this connection the fortunes of the Cāpas may be examined. WATSON following a Gujarati tradition, recorded by later bards, stated that Vanarāja Cāvḍā was a Paramāra⁹⁰. The Cāvḍās were imagined by FORBES to have been originally living to the west of the Indus⁹¹. TODD identified them with the Scythians, for they came from Śaṅkhadvāra or Socotra on the east coast of Africa, and were descended from Alexander's Greek colonists⁹². A misplacement of Śaṅkhadvāra which is near Dwarka in Kathiawar, on the east coast of Africa led to this miraculous result.

Vyāghramukha Cāpa ruled where Brahmagupta wrote. Brahmagupta was called Bhillamālikācārya, therefore Vyāghramukha must have ruled at Bhillamāla. Bhillamāla was the old capital of Gūrjaradeśa. The Gūrjaras were foreigners, therefore the Cāpas were foreigners⁹³. Both the syllogisms carry faulty premises. That Brahmagupta might have written his work in some town other than Bhillamāla is not taken into account. And it is assumed that the Gūrjaras were foreigners.

The earliest information that we possess about the Cāvḍās is that in 628 A.C. a Vyāghramukha of the Cāpa dynasty was ruling at Bhillamāla and there was a Cāpa family ruling somewhere in Gūrjaradeśa about the time of the first Muslim raid in c. 730 A.C., recorded in the Navsari grant of the Cālukya king Pulakeśi II Avanijanāśraya⁹⁴. Why the Cāpas were not treated as ordinary Kṣatriyas of the land is difficult to understand. The Hadala grant of 914 A.C. says that a Cāpa feudatory, Dharaṇivarāha, of the Pratihāra emperor was ruling at Wadhwan⁹⁵. And looking at the pedigree given in the grant, it is clear that Dharaṇivarāha traced his descent for four generations. There is nothing, however, to indicate that the Cāpas were either Cālukyas or Paramāras, but even if they were, there is nothing to indicate their foreign origin.

The Paramāras are equally treated as foreign settlers on the following

⁸⁸ *IA*, XVI, 151 ff.; *Ibid.* VIII, 11 ff.; *EI*, XIII, 12 ff.; *Ibid.* XII, 142 ff.

⁸⁹ *EHI*, 440.

⁹⁰ *HP*, 6, n. 4.

⁹¹ FORBES, *Rāsa-Mālā*, 37 n.

⁹² *AAR*, I, 105.

⁹³ *IA*, VII, 192.

⁹⁴ n. 24.

⁹⁵ *IA*, XII, 190 ff.; *IA*, XVIII, 90.

argument. Legends make the Cāvdās a part of the Paramāra race ; the Paramāras are allied to the three other races including the Gŭrjaras ; and the Gŭrjaras were foreigners, and therefore the Paramāras are foreigners⁹⁶. The Firozpur Gŭrjaras preserve a tradition that they came from Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras⁹⁷. This cannot help anyone to infer that either the Paramāra or the Gŭrjara was a foreigner. Dhārā was one of the important towns in Gŭrjaradeśa. And castes of men migrating from Gŭrjaradeśa and who have been settled in the South for centuries are still known as Gŭrjaras or Gujjars ; there is no reason why residents of Gŭrjaradeśa should not continue to be known as Gŭrjaras when in Firozpur.

The Paramāras came into prominence with Siyaka II, whose first epigraphic record, the Harsola grant, is of 949 A.C.⁹⁸. There is nothing in the grant to indicate the fire-pit origin.

On the contrary it proves the close connection between them and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The founder of the Paramāra line is Dhūmarāja who may be placed about 800 A.C.⁹⁹ and the Paramāras were feudatories of the Pratihāras from that time. Padmagupta, a contemporary of Muṇja Vākpati II, writing in his own court calls the patron king a 'Brahma-kṣatra', descended from a Brāhmaṇa who had taken to arms¹⁰⁰.

All the facts clearly point beyond any reasonable doubt that the Pratihāras, the Cāhamānas, the Cālukyas and the Paramāras were allied clans which belonged to Hindu society in a stage when Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas freely allied with each other in matrimony. They were associated with Gŭrjaradeśa from about the sixth century and continued to be so till 1300 A.C. the period under consideration. Further, these four clans in their early days, never claimed the fire-pit origin nor had anything to do with any foreign origin or immigration. But the history of Gŭrjaradeśa during this period cannot be understood in a proper perspective, unless the important fact is realised that these four Kṣatriya clans connected by blood and tradition and by the country of their origin, Gŭrjaradeśa, remained closely knit in high adventure and imperial ambition throughout the period from 550-1300 A.C. The wars between the chieftains of these clans were merely a struggle for internal supremacy suspended only during the period when one or the other clan attained unchallengable supremacy as was the case with the

⁹⁶ HOERNLE, *JRAS.*, 1905, 31.

⁹⁷ D. R. BHANDARKAR, *JBBRAS.* XXI, 428.

⁹⁸ *EL.*, XIX, 236 ff. ; Chap. V.

⁹⁹ Tejapāla Temple inscription at Mt. Abu dated 1230 A.C. : श्रीधूसराजः प्रथमं बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरैदवंशे ।... ॥ ३३ ॥ *HR.* I, 76, n. 1 ; Pāṭanārāyaṇa Temple Prasāsti at Giravara village (Mt. Abu) dated 1287 A.C. : आनीतधेन्वे परनिर्जयेन मुनिः स्वगोत्रं परमारजातिम् । तस्मै ददायुद्धतभूरिभाग्यं तं धौमराजं च चकार नाम्ना ॥ *HR.* I, 76, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Halāyudha, *Piṅgala-Sūtra Vṛtti*, ब्रह्मक्षत्रकुलीनः प्रलीनसामन्तचक्रवृत्तचरणः ।

पुत्रः श्रीमान्मुञ्जध्विरं जयति ॥ *HR.* I, 75, n. 1,

Pratihāras from 740 to 940 A.C., with the Paramāras from 940 to 1055 A.C., and with the Cālukyas from 1100 to 1250 A.C. This phenomenon was not unusual in other parts of the world during the feudal stage. But, as will appear hereafter, during 465 years out of the 750, with which this history is concerned, there was an imperial Gŭrjara in whom was focussed for the time being the power, might and unity of Gŭrjaradeśa. Had the imperial camp remained in one place instead of being shifted from Śrīmāla to Jhalor, from Jhalor to Ujjayinī, from Ujjayinī to Kānyakubja and thence to Dhārā and Anhilavāḍa, the continuity of Imperial Gŭrjaradeśa would never have been missed.

VI

In studying the history of Gujarat it is difficult to escape another pit-fall.

The history of Gujarat first came to be written by Sir Kinlock FORBES in his *Rāsamālā* in the middle of the nineteenth century from a few Jain Prabandhas which were available to him and the bardic tales collected by Kavi DALPATRAM. These tales mostly related to the Cāvḍās and the Cālukya kings of Pāṭaṇa. The Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa were the only rulers in India who gave an honoured place to the Śvetāmbara Jain Sādhus. One of the great Imperial Gŭrjaras, Kumārapāla, had for his guide, philosopher and friend one of the greatest Jain Sādhus, Hemacandra, in his court. The Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa and particularly Kumārapāla, consequently, became closely associated with the Jain tradition. To the successive generations of Sādhus brought up on these traditions, Mūlarāja the founder of the Cālukya power of Pāṭaṇa was 'Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva'¹⁰¹; their historic memories, which they reproduced in the Prabandhas revolved around his dynasty. This belief led them to create the impression that the culture, power and history of Gujarat began with Mūlarāja, or if they went earlier, with Vanarāja Cāvḍā. That is why Kinlock FORBES, the author of the *Rāsamālā*, wrote: "Their [Cālukyas'] greatest and enduring claim to glory is, however, to be found in the fact that surpassing the boast of... Augustus, they found their country waste and left it a land flowing with milk and honey"¹⁰². This view of the history of Gujarat blurs the true perspective. The facts however can easily be summarised.

In the sixth century the residents of modern Gujarat including Kathiawar and Cutch, Rajputana and Malwa were a homogeneous people with the same language, manners and social institutions. About 550 A.C. the Pratihāra kings of Gŭrjaradeśa began ruling from Śrīmāla or Mandor; and the consolidation of considerable parts of these people as

¹⁰¹ Hemacandra, *Siddhahema* I : हरितिव बलिबन्धकरस्त्रिशक्तियुक्तः पिनाकपाणिरिव । कमलाश्रयश्च विधिरिव जयति श्रीमूलराजनृपः ॥

¹⁰² FORBES, *Rāsa-Mālā*, X, 1.

a political unit grew apace. In 641 A.C. there were large towns, prosperous communities, seats of universities in these regions. Upto 750 A.C. the Pratihāra kings of Gŭrjaradeśa further strengthened the political bonds of this area by planting a feudatory in Broach ; another in Saurāṣṭra ; a third in Sambhar and shifting their capital from Śrīmāla or Jhalor to Ujjayinī. Vatsarāja annexed parts of the Central Provinces, Bundelkhand and the territory the two focii of which were Kanauj and Benares, to this Gŭrjaradeśa. For over hundred and fifty years Gŭrjaradeśa with these accretions formed Madhyadeśa or Antarvedi with its capital in the imperial city of Kanauj. The Imperial Gŭrjaras who ruled over this Antarvedi spread their power in the north upto Lahore, to Sind in the west and north Bengal in the east, and made their influence felt in the outlying parts of this large empire. Their southern boundary fluctuated between the Mahi and the Narmadā and for some time rested on the Godavari.

This empire broke in c. 940 A.C. and Mŭlarāja Cālukya, a small chieftain possibly connected with the family of the emperors, captured Sārasvata Maṇḍala in Gŭrjaradeśa and established himself at Anahilavāḍa. He was a feudatory first of the imperial Gŭrjaras of Kanauj and later of the Paramāras, who, for two generations, held the imperial sceptre of Gŭrjaradeśa. He continued to be so till the death of Muñja in about 974 A.C. Mŭlarāja's son Cāmuṇḍa ruled over the Sārasvata Maṇḍala and Satyapura Maṇḍala and part of Kaccha, when the bulk of modern Gujarat was ruled over by his Paramāra suzerains of Dhārā. So were his sons Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja and his grandson Bhīmadeva I for the best part of his life. In 1074 A.C. the imperial Gŭrjara, Bhoja the Paramāra, died, and a struggle for the imperial supremacy took place between competing hierarchs. It was then that Bhīmadeva annexed parts of the Kaira district to his small principality. Karṇa, his son, added Lāṭa to it. The incessant struggle going on between the ruling hierarchs of Gŭrjaradeśa for imperial supremacy ended only when Karṇa's son Jayasinhha Siddharāja emerged successfully in this internal struggle. After Bhoja, the Paramāra, he was the next imperial Gŭrjara whose sway extended from Sambhar to Kāveri and from Dwarka to Bhilsa, and the imperial sceptre so acquired was wielded by his successors till it fell from the feeble hands of Bhīmadeva II in c. 1250 A.C.

VII

Apart from the Kṣatriya clans, the bulk of the people continued to be the same during the period under survey. It was in this period that the localisation of sentiments became acute and the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas came to be known by the locality from which they came rather than by their *gotras*. The Praśnorā Brāhmaṇas came from Ahicchatra in Jaṅgaladeśa, the Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas from the heart of Gŭrjaradeśa, the Śrīmālī's from Śrīmāla, its capital. The Moḍha Brāhmaṇas and the Sārasvata came from Moḍhera and the Sarasvati valley, both of which formed part of Gŭrjaradeśa. The Brāhmaṇas of Vaḍanagara or Ānandapura were known as

Nāgaras and played an important part in the fields of learning, politics and warfare. The Brāhmaṇas of Kathiawar referred to in the inscriptions of Valabhī kings, were known as Sorathā Brāhmaṇas, sometimes as Brāhmaṇas of Valabhī, as the inscription of Bhartṛvṛddha shows. The Brāhmaṇas of Khetaka, a province of Lāṭa, are still known as Khedāvālas and those around the region of Broach (Bhṛgukaccha) went under the name of Bhārgavas. The Audīcyas came from the east to settle in Gujarat and may perhaps be the residents of the Kānyakubja Viṣaya¹⁰³.

The Vaiśyas of old Gŭrjaradeśa can still be traced in the Māheśvarīs who came from old Gŭrjaradeśa, and, in the Osvālas, the Poravādas and the Śrīmālīs, who lived in the Śrīmāla region. The Vaiśyas of Moḍhera are the Moḍha Banias; of Saurāṣṭra are still Sorathiyās; of Lāṭa still known as Lāḍas.

When members of these castes went out of Gŭrjaradeśa they came to be known as Gŭrjaras; in Gŭrjaradeśa however they were known from the locality from which they came.

These facts make it clear that the people of Rajputana, Malwa and of modern Gujarat during the period under survey, were one homogenous people divided into Varṇas. And linguistically they were one in the time of Yuan Chwang, and so were they till western Rājasthānī or what the late Prof. DIVATIA rightly called Gaurjarī Apabhraṁśa after 1300 A.C. came to be split into modern Gujarātī, Mārwaḍī, Mālavi and Jaipurī¹⁰⁴.

The history of Gŭrjaradeśa is, therefore, the history of the people whose descendants now speak the languages derived from the Gaurjarī Apabhraṁśa or Western Rājasthānī. These languages are now spoken in modern Rajputana, Malwa, some Central Indian States and in modern Gujarat including Cutch and Kathiawar, roughly in the older political units which formed the pre-historic empire of Sahasrārjuna and the empire of Rudradāman, the Mahākṣatrapa.

¹⁰³ I understand that the Anāvila Brāhmaṇas of the Surat district, so named from the old town of Anāvila, called themselves some decades before as Kanaujis and Audīcyas.

¹⁰⁴ GL., 98.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF GŪRJARA POWER

I

THE imperial tradition in India,¹ which began with mythic kings, saw its fulfilment in the pre-historic empires of Sahasrārjuna and his vanquisher Paraśurāma²; its historical realisation in the empire of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, the empire of Pāṭaliputra under the Śiśunāgas (7th century B.C.), the Nandas (middle of the 4th century B.C.) who vanquished the Pradyotas of Avanti, the Mauryas (c. 322-185 B.C.), and the Śuṅgas (c. 185-73 B.C.). With a short break the Gupta emperors (c. 320-500 A.C.) created and dominated the Golden Age of India from Pāṭaliputra. With the death of Budhagupta in c. 500, the power and glory of the Empire of Pāṭaliputra vanished. The empire, or whatever was left of it, was split into two—the Western and the Eastern. The Eastern included Magadha and Gauḍa; the Western mainly consisted of Mālava and Avanti. The territory included under these two names extended from the Kotah State in the north to Bhilsa in the east. In the west it extended upto the river Mahi, perhaps right upto its mouth³. It included considerable parts of modern Gujarat.

In c. 470 A.C. the province of Valabhī drifted away from the Gupta empire, to become an independent kingdom in Kathiawar under Senāpati Bhaṭārka⁴.

Between 500 and 510 A.C. Bhānugupta Bālāditya ruled over Mālava and Avanti; but by 512 A.C. he was forced to retire to Bengal before the overpowering strength of the Hūṇa conqueror, Toramāṇa⁵. Between 512-516 A.C. Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa, was the most powerful ruler in North

¹ *Vāyu*, LVII, 72-76. विष्णोरंशेन जायन्ते पृथिव्यां चक्रवर्तिनः ।

मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु अतीतानागतेषु वै ॥
भूतभव्यानि यानीह वर्तमानानि यानि च ।
त्रैतायुगादिष्वेकत्र जायन्ते चक्रवर्तिनः ॥
भद्राणीमानि येषां वै भवन्तीह महीक्षिताम् ।
अद्भुतानि च चत्वारि बलं धर्मः सुखं धनम् ॥
अन्योन्यस्याऽविरोधेन प्राप्यन्ते वै नृपैः समम् ।
अथो धर्मश्च कामश्च यशो विजय एव च ॥
ऐश्वर्येणाणिमाद्येन प्रभुशक्त्या तथैव च ।
अन्नेन तपसा चैव ऋषीर्नभिभवन्ति च ॥
बलेन तपसा चैव देवदानवमानुषान् ॥

² Ch. I, n. 3.

³ *JBORS.*, XIX, 399.

⁴ *EHI.*, 332.

⁵ *Ibid.*

India. But in 527 A.C. he was defeated by Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana. By 533 A.C. Mālava was governed by a satrap of Viṣṇuvardhana⁶. By 535 A.C. Kumāragupta III a descendant of Bhānugupta Bālāditya vanquished Iśānavarman Maukharī of Kanauj and declared himself "the lord of three oceans." But in 550 A.C. he ascended the funeral pyre at Allahabad⁷. These names and events, however, are not proved beyond doubt.

About 550 A.C. Iśānavarman had overthrown the descendants of Viṣṇuvardhana and was the unchallenged emperor of North India. He it was who made Kanauj the imperial capital, an honour which it enjoyed till the raids of Mahmud of Ghazna, in the first quarter of the eleventh century. With him began the empire of Kanauj.

Iśānavarman's successor Sarvavarman (554-570 A.C.) extended his sway upto Kathiawar in the West and Andhra in the south⁸.

About this time the Kalacuri or Kātacuri dynasty, a branch of the Haihayas, ruled over a large kingdom which consisted of West Malwa or the region of the Mahi, the region of Ujjayinī, South Gujarat then called Bhṛgukaccha or South Lāṭa right upto Konkan and parts of Mahārāṣṭra⁹. About 550 A.C. Saṅgrāmasimha was the last viceroy of the Guptas ruling the region of Bhṛgukaccha¹⁰. He was defeated by Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Kalacuri king, who appointed Nirihullaka, the Bhilla king, to rule over Bhṛgukaccha. Nirihullaka's sway extended upto Dabhoi¹¹.

II

Gūrjaradeśa stepped into history about 500 A.C. There was no such country near Billamāla or to its south in c. 150 A.C. when the glories of Rudradāman, the Kṣatrapa, were inscribed on the rock of Gīrnar¹². Between 500 and 550 A.C., the first king of Gūrjaradeśa emerges out of obscurity, Haricandra by name, otherwise called Rohilladhi, a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas and the Śāstras, a preceptor like Prajāpati. Originally a pratihāra or chamberlain of some king, he became a king himself¹³.

Haricandra had two queens, one Brāhmaṇa, the other Kṣatriya. By the latter he had four sons, Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda. They captured Māṇḍavyapura, modern Mandor near Jodhpur, and built a fortress there.¹⁴ The inscription refers to a rājadhānī, which must be other than

⁶ JAYASWAL, *An Imperial History of India*, 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 58, 59.

⁹ *IA.*, VII, 161, *EI.*, VI, 294 ff.

¹⁰ *JBORS.*, XIX, 405-06.

¹¹ *EI.*, II, 21; *JDL.*, II, 17. ...मल्लिकरः श्रीशंकरगणस्तत्पादानुव्यातस्सकलमहिमण्डलतलप्रथित-कीर्तिभू भोगिकपालमहापलुपतिनिरिहुलकस्तद्व्याधिक्षितशान्तिहसर्वानेव परमपादीयांश्चावेदयति—

¹² *EI.*, VIII, 36 ff.

¹³ Appendix A, 1, vss. 4, 5; A, 2, iv, vs. 2.

¹⁴ *BC.*, Pt. I, Ch. I, 107-8, n. 20. That these rulers were Pratihāras is further known by the colophon and opening stanzas of the commentary known as *Laghuvṛtti* on Udbhaṭa's *Kavyālaṅkāra saṁgraha* by Indurāja, a Pratihāra of Konkan. *IA.*, 1919, 132. *JDL.*, X, 11.

Mandor. The king of Gūrjaradeśa marched southward, subdued the king of Valabhī, vanquished the Kalacuris, crossed the Narmadā and planted a feudatory there.

Dadda I (c. 560-605 A.C.) of Lāṭa who was called Gurjjaranṛpativaṃśa and may be identified with the fourth son of Haricandra, is found established at Nandipura, now a village called Nandeval near Broach. He invaded Lāṭa, defeated Nirihullaka, destroyed the Nāgas, and extended his rule to the Vindhya. He styled himself a Sāmanta and was a feudatory of the king of Gūrjara¹⁵. He was a worshipper of the Sun, the central shrine of the deity being at Bhillamāla¹⁶.

Khetakamaṇḍala and parts of Mālava were under the kings of Valabhī at the time. But between 571 A.C. and 588 A.C. Dharasena II of Valabhī (561-591 A.C.) changed his title of mahārāja into mahāsāmanta¹⁷. He was thus reduced to vassalage by some conqueror. Looking to the projection of the Gūrjara power upto the Narmadā in c. 580 A.C. and the simultaneous displacement of Kalacuris, the overlord of Dharasena must be the ruler of Gūrjara who had his capital at Bhillamāla.

The king of Gūrjara was formidable enough to struggle against Prabhākaravardhana, Śrī Harṣa's father. He was not only 'kept sleepless' by the king of Thāneśvara, but the latter also occupied Lāṭa, the domains of Dadda I his son. But Prabhākaravardhana's conquests appear to be digvijaya raids only. This powerful king was Haricandra; Mandor, whose high fort was raised by his son, was perhaps the northern out-post built against the attack of Prabhākaravardhana.

While the Maukharis were founding an empire at Kanauj in the North, Pulakeśī I (c. 550 A.C.), the Cālukya, had captured Vātāpi, modern Badami in the Bijapur District of Bombay, and founded a kingdom¹⁸. His son Kīrtivarman succeeded him in c. 591 A.C.

Buddharāja, the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa the Kalacuri king, was struggling hard to retain his hold over parts of Gujarat and had just recovered from the blow dealt to his power by the armies of Gūrjaradeśa, when Maṅgaleśa, the brother of Kīrtivarman, invaded Mālava and deprived him of it¹⁹ (c. 601 A.C.). But Buddharāja recovered Mālava, and his grant issued from Anandapura, modern Anand, which is described as being in the Bhṛgukaccha Viśaya, indicates that adversity had brought about friendly relation between him and Jayabhaṭa (605-620 A.C.), the son of Dadda I of Gūrjaradeśa who

¹⁵ *IA*. XIII, 81-88 : ...दुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवंशमह[र्]दधा[धौ].सामन्तदहः [1]

¹⁶ *BG*. I, Pt. I, 459 ff.

¹⁷ *IA*. VII, 70 : परममाहेश्वरः महासामन्तमहाराजश्रीधरसेन.....

¹⁸ *EHI*., 441.

¹⁹ *IA*. VII, 161. तेन राजा शंकरगणपुत्रं गज-तुरग-श्रद्धा-कोषबलसम्पन्नं बुधराजं विद्राप्य चालिक्य-वंश-संभवं अष्टादशसमरविजयिनं स्वामिराजं च हत्वा.....

The kings of the Lāṭa, who were descendants of the kings of Gūrjara, were not feudatories of Buddharāja, *JDL*, X, 17; *EI*. X, 296; VI, 297 ff.; *IA*. XIX, 7.

ruled at Nandīpurī near Broach. There is no doubt that Buddharāja, in alliance with the Valabhī king, threw off the yoke of Gŭrjaradeśa, cutting off the Broach Gŭrjara power, and rendering it a helpless victim of Cālukya aggression.

Before the Cālukyas invaded Lāṭa, the Sendrakas were ruling over the valley of the Tapti. The founder of the family fortunes was one Bhānuśakti alias Nikumbha, and was perhaps placed in charge of south Gujarat after the Cālukyas drove out the Kalacuris. The family line of Bhānuśakti is as follows :—

Bhānuśakti
|
Ādityaśakti
|
Allaśakti
|
Jayaśakti
|

The first three ruled in Gujarat and the fourth in Khandesh. The Sendrakas were ousted from Gujarat soon after 656 A.C., the date of the Begumra Plate.

In 606 A.C. Śrī Harṣa became the emperor of the North²⁰. Two years later in A.C. 608 Pulakeśī II, or to use the name he used for himself Pulakeśī Pṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja, the grandson of the first king of that name, succeeded to the throne of Vātāpi²¹.

Pulakeśī II subdued the Pallavas of Kāñcī ; repelled the invasion of the emperor Śrī Harṣa in c. 620 A.C. ; and styled himself the " Lord of the three Mahārāṣṭras containing 999 villages." In 611 A.C. he appointed his brother Viṣṇuvarman the governor of the Veṅgī country, modern Godavari district of Madras on the east coast. Four years later, Viṣṇuvarman became quasi-independent and founded the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, which ruled there till 1070 A.C.

This Pulakeśī, with his warriors and elephants " which marched to victory intoxicated ",²² was the first to lay the foundation of the empire of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. He created a power, which for several centuries made the emperors of the Deccan rivals of the emperors of the North, leading to wars which frustrated not only the consolidation of the country into a political unit, but led to the ultimate weakening of both the North and South. The kings of Konkan, Lāṭa, Gŭrjara and Mālava before 634 A.C. offered him voluntary submission, possibly to secure protection against Śrī Harṣa.²³ He not only repelled the invasion of the emperor of the North but carried his victorious arms up to perhaps Śrīmāla. " Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harṣa, whose lotus feet were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his

immeasurable power was caused by him (Pulakeśi) to have his joy melted away by fear."²⁴

"The King was a Kṣatriya by birth, and his name was Pu-lo-ki-she (Pulakesi)" remarks Yuan Chwang. "The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya (Śrī Harṣa) at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving an allegiance to him but Mo-ha-la-cha refused to become subject to him."²⁵ "But even his (Śrī Harṣa's) supreme and masterful command did not enable him to subjugate or prevail over his powerful southern rival, who had by his extensive conquests in the south justly won the proud title of 'the lord of the whole region of the south' "²⁶.

But Pulakeśi could not retain Mālava and Gŭrjara within his empire. Lāṭa, however, up to the river Kim, formed part of the empire of Dakṣiṇā-patha, till the tenth century A.C. Then it was absorbed in Gŭrjaradeśa, and remained the corridor wherein many a Thermopylae was fought between the emperors of the North and the South.

Jayabhāṭa, the Gŭrjara of Lāṭa, became the feudatory of the Cālukya emperor. It was in his time that an Arab fleet was despatched to Thana and Broach (636 A.C.). It did some damage but was recalled under the orders of Caliph Omar.²⁷ As a result of the protection which Pulakeśi extended to Jayabhāṭa and Dadda II, they retained their independence up to 641 A.C. when Yuan Chwang visited Broach. Dadda II as an independent king gave an asylum to a king of Valabhī when he had suffered defeat at the hands of Śrī Harṣa.

III

In the month of September 629 A.C. a young but very learned Buddhist monk started on a long journey to India from Ch'ang-an, modern Hai-San, the capital of the Chinese emperor of the T'sin dynasty. Ordained at the early age of thirteen he had travelled from province to province in search of a proper preceptor. When he had arrived at Cha'ng-an, he decided to go to India to learn Dharma at the feet of Indian sages. At the age of 26, he set out on the journey with another priest. The extraordinary purpose of his journey soon came to be known to the governors and people of the provinces through which he passed. They gave him assistance till with great difficulty, he reached India.²⁸ On his arrival in India during the rains in

²⁴ *IA.*, VIII, 242, vs. 23 : अपरिमितविभूतिस्मृतसामन्तसेना-

मुकुटमणिमयूखाकान्तपादारविन्दः ।

युधि पतितगज(जे)न्द्रानीवि (वी)भत्सभूतो

भयविगलितहर्षो येन चाकारि हर्षः ॥

²⁵ Chap. I, n. 87.

²⁶ *EL.* V, 7, 8, lines 1, 2 : स्ववंशल(ल)लामभूतदक्षिणापथ-प्रि(प्र)थिव्या(ः) स्वामी...

²⁷ *KFB.* II, 410.

²⁸ *OYC.*, 334, 335.

630 A.C., Yuan Chwang stayed in a monastery in Kapiśā. He was for two years in Kashmir, for fourteen months in Eastern Punjab, and for four months at Jullunder. In 636 A.C. he was at Kanauj, the capital of India, as the guest of Emperor Śrī Harṣa. In 637 A.C. he was at Nālandā. Thence he travelled south. In the rains of 641 A.C. he was at Nasik, where the Emperor Pulakeśī II was living. Then he proceeded northward passing through modern Gujarat and ancient Gūrjaradeśa or Gujjar, or Ku-che-lo. In July 644 A.C. he left India.²⁹

The learned master of the laws, Yuan Chwang, made this great pilgrimage with all the pomp of a royal visitor, and was so received by everyone in India, including Śrī Harṣa himself. When he returned, he was given a royal send off. He returned to China with 150 particles of the Buddha's bodily relics, several statues of his in gold, silver and sandalwood; and not less than 653 distinct manuscripts carried on twenty horses. He devoted the rest of his life to the work of translating these works and died in 664 A.C.³⁰ One of the most respected and eminent Buddhists of the time, he saved India of the seventh century A.C. from permanent oblivion.

He winds up his records by setting out its purpose.

"I have set forth at length the natural scenery and ascertained territorial divisions. I have explained the qualities of national customs and climatic characteristics. Moral conduct is not constant and tastes vary; where matters cannot be thoroughly verified one may not be dogmatic. Wherever I went I made notes and in mentioning what I saw and heard, I recorded the aspirations for (Chinese) civilisation. It is a fact that from here to where the Sun sets, all have experienced (His Majesty's) beneficence, and wherever his influence reaches all admire this perfect virtue. The whole world having been united under one sway I have not been a mere individual on a political mission travelling a myriad *li* along a post-road."³¹

Yuan Chwang was a shrewd observer. Passing through Mahārāṣṭra he notices that its people were learned.³² From Nasik Yuan Chwang went to the country of Bhrgukaccha, crossing the Narmadā. He was not impressed with the men, for he found them mean, deceitful and ignorant, orthodox and heterodox at the same time. From there he proceeded north-west to the country of Mālava, the capital being a large city of the same name, to the south-east of the river Mahī. It was a region where learning was prized, virtue esteemed, and humanity respected. There were hundreds of Buddhist monasteries in the land, and of the Buddhist Bhikṣus, Bhadraruci was the greatest. Thence the pilgrim proceeded to what he calls Atāli. The inhabitants were traders, rich and flourishing. In social customs, speech and writing, they resembled the people of Mālava. Buddhism evidently was not favoured in the country and Yuan Chwang was far from happy.

Then he went to Khetaka, a rich district which formed part of Mālava,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 335, 336.

³⁰ *EHI.*, 365, 366.

³¹ *OYC.*, 305.

³² *Ibid.*, 239.

and then to Valabhīpura which resembled Mālava in products, climate and character and race of people. It was rich and prosperous with hundreds of Buddhist monasteries and the temples of Devas. It was adorned by stūpas erected by Aśoka, and had memories of the visit of Buddha. The reigning sovereign was a Kṣatriya, Dhruvabhaṭṭa, a nephew of Śīlāditya, a former king of Mālava, and son-in-law of emperor Śrī Harṣa. Guṇamati and Sthiramati, the great Buddhist monks, had composed their treatises in a large monastery in the city.

Yuan Chwang then went to Ānandapura or Ānarta with its capital Ānandapura (modern Vadanagar) which also was rich and flourishing. It was also a dependency of Mālava. In products, climate and written language, it also resembled that country.

He visited Saurāṣṭra next, where he found the inhabitants rich and flourishing. It was also subject to Mālava. Near its capital was the Ujjayant hill (modern Girnar) on the top of which there was a monastery visited by saints and sages.

From Girnar Yuan Chwang went to Gūrjaradeśa with its capital at Bhīllamāla. The country in products and ways of people was like Saurāṣṭra. The people were also very flourishing. Brahmanism dominated this city, there being only one Buddhist monastery with but 100 brethren. The king was a Kṣatriya, celebrated for his wisdom and virtue, a profound believer in Buddhism and a man of exceptional abilities.

He next visited the country of Ujjayinī. The products and the people, who were rich and flourishing, were the same as in Saurāṣṭra. The king was a learned Brāhmaṇa. From thence Yuan Chwang passed on to Jeḍābhukti, modern Bundelkhand.

Yuan Chwang provides a complete picture of the land. About two hundred miles from the caves of Ajantā was Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach), the capital of a kingdom of that name. To the north of it, lay Mālava with its capital of the same name, on the river Mahī; then north-west Atālī or Acālī with its capital of the same name, then Kiṭa, then Valabhīpura (modern Vala), Ānandapura (modern Vadanagar), Saurāṣṭra, Gūjarāta, with its capital Bhīllamāla, then Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain).

Mo-lo-po is certainly not modern Malwa. It was a kingdom which lay between Bhṛgukaccha, Valabhī, Ānandapura, Atālī and Kiṭa and through which the river Mahī flowed, and it did not include the territory of which Ujjayinī was the capital. Mālava was the overlord of Atālī, Kiṭa, Ānandapura and Saurāṣṭra. Valabhī, Gūrjara and Ujjayinī had kings of their own but there is no reference to any king ruling in Mālava possibly because the ruler was the king of Valabhī. Mālava is also styled South-Lo-Lo. South-Lo-Lo or Mālava therefore can only mean southern Lāṭa extending northward from modern Broach including the modern Baroda Prānt, the Mahikantha

Agency and the Panch Mahal District and a part of the Kaira district. Its capital must be found to the south-east of the river Mahī.³³

Aṭālī or A-cha-lī or O-cha-lī has not been identified. It was occupied by people similar to those residing in Mālava, was reached by entering an estuary or a sea-bending going south-west of Mālava the city and then travelling north-west. This unidentified region must be somewhere between the Mahī and the Sabarmati. It is likely that its unidentified capital might be Achali or Aślālī, near modern Ahmedabad, which again may be identified with Āśāpallī, a place which in the twelfth century stood near where Karṇāvatī (modern Ahmedabad) was founded.

Kiṭa is not modern Cutch.³⁴ No part of modern Cutch was at any time a rich district or known to be subject to Mālava, nor at any time did it resemble the rich country of Southern Lāṭa. It can only be applied to Khetākapura (modern Kaira). Khetākapura was the capital of Khetāka Maṇḍala, which formed part of the kingdom of Valabhī up to 722 A.C. The reference made by Yuan Chwang to Dhruvabhāṭa or Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, the ruler of Valabhī and the son-in-law of emperor Śrī Harṣa, and to the earlier Valabhī king Śīlāditya I (599-609 A.C.) who is now proved to have made generous grants to Buddhist monks, and the absence of reference to any ruling king in Mālava establishes that Mālava, Āśāpallī and Khetāka were subject to Dhruvasena II of Valabhī. Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra are also described as being subject to Mālava and equally formed part of the territory over which the kings of Valabhī held sway. It is therefore clear that Dhruvasena II ruled the whole of modern Gujarat except Bhṛgukaccha, which comprised of the modern districts of Broach and Surat. A few years later, in 649 A.C. Bhṛgukaccha formed part of the territories of Emperor Dharasena IV (640-649 A.C.) of Valabhī, the grandson and successor of Śrī Harṣa.³⁵

There is no surprise that Yuan Chwang found Bhīllamāla in all respects an intensely Brahmanical city. That it was the capital of Gūrjaradeśa at this time is incontrovertible.

In this record we find that the people of all these regions, modern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Rajputana and Malwa were homogeneous, one in script, language and laws and customs, rich and flourishing. The large cities of this tract were Ujjayinī, Bhīllamāla, Verāvala, Valabhī and Mālava while Bhṛgukaccha, Āśāpallī, Khetāka and Ānandapura were comparatively small. They were all centres of learning.

Haricandra's grandson, Nāgabhatta changed his capital to Medantakapura, modern Medata.³⁶ This fact is supported by the tradition that Śrīmāla was rebuilt in 644 A.C. The transfer of the capital from Bhīllamāla to Medata must have been due to the invasion of Pulakeśī II, the Cālukya

³³ *Ibid.*, 243.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 245.

³⁵ *IA*, XV, 335 : ओ स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्धकच्छवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां.....

³⁶ Appendix A, 1, vs. 12.

emperor. But Nāgabhaṭa soon threw off the Cālukyan overlordship. When in c. 641 A.C. Yuan Chwang visited Bhīllamāla, the capital of Gūrjaradeśa, the country was 833 miles in circuit and its king was a young Kṣatriya. 'The King', says the Chinese pilgrim, 'is of the Kṣatriya caste. He is just twenty years old. He is distinguished for wisdom, and is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability.'³⁷ This description applies to Tāta, the great-grandson of Haricandra, who 'believing that life was transient left the kingdom to his brother Bhoja and giving himself up to religious life went and lived in holy Mandor'.³⁸ Mandor clearly was not the capital of this dynasty at the time.

Bhīllamāla, Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla about 50 miles west of Mt. Abu, was the capital of Gūrjaradeśa. Its present ruins clearly show that it was a great and widespread city. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, it counted amongst its population a few families of Maga Brāhmanas, the worshippers of the Sun, who are identified with the Persian Magi. They could not have settled in Śrīmāla later than the 6th century A.C. The two objects of archæological interest in the town are the Yakṣakūpa the lake, and the ruins of the temple of the Sun as Jagatsvāmī, which once must have been magnificent. On the east end of the north bank of the lake is a massive seated figure believed to be that of a Yakṣa King. Its head wears long curls which look like a curled wig, an unusual equipment for an ancient image in India. Its right hand holds a ball of stone.³⁹

It was pre-eminently a city of learning according to Yuan Chwang. According to the tradition preserved in the *Śrīmāla Purāṇa*, Lakṣmī, the spouse of god Viṣṇu, realised her true self in this place, and the gods, therefore, covered it with garlands, and hence it took the name Śrīmāla⁴⁰. When it was first seen by Viṣṇu and the other gods, they could not resist exclaiming 'What loveliness, what beauty, what magnificence.'⁴¹ The city, according to the *Purāṇa* was about 15 to 20 miles in extent, laid out in the shape of a square.⁴² In it were 1000 Gaṇapatis, 4000 Kṣetrapālas. 84 Caṇḍikā Devīs, 111000 Śiva līngas and 999 other temples, 18000 temples of Durgā, 4000 Brahmaśālās, 8000 shops and 1000 assembly halls. It had 84 gates.⁴³ In its 4000 maṭhas, learning in all its branches was pursued.⁴⁴ Making allowance for poetic exaggeration and local pride, there is no doubt that it was one of the great centres of Aryan culture in India in the sixth century A.C.

³⁷ BRW, II, 270.

³⁸ Appendix A, I, vs. 14.

³⁹ BG, I, Pt. I, 456 ff.

⁴⁰ *Śrīmāla* IX, 1-22 ; X, 2-24 ; LXXII, 1-15.

⁴¹ PARIKH, Introduction to the *Kāvyānuśāsana*, II, Pt. I, XCI.

⁴² *Śrīmāla* X, 58.

⁴³ PARIKH, *Op. cit.*, XCII, XCIII.

⁴⁴ *Śrīmāla* VII, 42 ; LXXI, 9.

धर्मशास्त्राण्यनूच्यन्ते सरहस्यानि सर्वतः ।

सहोपनिषदो वेदाश्छन्दो व्याकरणानि च ॥

चतुर्वेदाः साङ्गश्चेत्युपनिषत्सहितास्तथा ।

सर्वशास्त्राणि वर्तन्ते श्रीमाले श्रीनिकेतने ॥

In 628 A.C. Brahmagupta, the astronomer, wrote his treatise *Brahma-sphuṭasiddhānta* there⁴⁵. The poet Māgha, the author of *Śiśupālavadha*, lived there in c. 680 A.C.⁴⁶

The only information during this period that we possess about the rulers of Bhīllamāla, is that in 625 A.C. Varmalāta,⁴⁷ who has left an inscription in Vasantgad in Sirohi, ruled at Śrīmāla. This statement, made in the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, is borne out by the fact that Māgha's grandfather was a minister of this king. Brahmagupta, the astronomer, is called Bhīllamāla-kācārya by his commentator, and the scientist himself has stated that he wrote his work in 628 A.C. when 'Vyāghramukha of the Cāpa vaṁśa' was the king. Whether the king ruled at Bhīllamāla or elsewhere is a matter of controversy. The meagre evidence, if at all, points to his not being the king of Bhīllamāla.

The epigraphic records corroborate the Chinese traveller. What is modern Gujarat was then studded with populous villages, and townships had sprung up. Girnar, modern Junagadh, what Yuan Chwang calls Surāṣṭra, was a flourishing city since centuries. Puṣyagupta, the viceroy of Emperor Aśoka, had beautified it by a lake with canals in the third century before Christ. It was the capital of Surāṣṭra and Ānarta under the Kṣatrapas. In Skandagupta's time the two provinces had grown so important that they had to be split up into two satrapies. And Girinagara had Cakrapālita, the son of the Viceroy Parnadatta, as its governor.⁴⁸ Many learned Brāhmaṇas lived there, and its residents were prosperous.

Valabhī, of course, was the home of power, learning and commerce. The country was happy and prosperous, and its merchants carried on an intensive commercial activity. No relic of the grandeur of this city which Yuan Chwang saw, has survived. The land, the climate and the customs of the people were like those found on the banks of the Mahī. The population was dense. Religious institutions flourished. More than a hundred merchants were worth over a lakh. Rare and valuable articles secured from distant places were amassed by rich men.⁴⁹ In Saurāṣṭra, there were two other provincial capitals of importance, Hastavaprāharāṇi⁵⁰ modern Hathab, and the unidentified Deṭakahāra.⁵¹

Khetaka, the capital of Khetaka maṇḍala, was a big town, and so was Ānartapura or Ānandapura so often referred to in the inscriptions as the

⁴⁵ HR., 20.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ PCA., XIV, 5, 6; SJG. ...अस्ति गूर्जरदेशोऽन्यसज्जराजन्यदुर्जरः ।

तत्र श्रीमालमित्यस्ति पुरं मुखमिव क्षितेः ॥

⁴⁸ CH. III, 56 : पूर्वैतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं नियुज्य राजा धृतिमास्तथाभूत् ।तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मजभावयुक्तो.....अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितो.....स्वयमेव पित्रा यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार सम्यक् ।

⁴⁹ BRW. II, 266-268.

⁵⁰ HIG. I, No. 41, 75.

⁵¹ EI. XIII, 338. तथा मण्डलीद्वगे सङ्गमानकं देटकहारे नदीयं । तथा चोत्सरी ।

home of learned Brāhmaṇas. Broach was an entrepôt like Valabhī but the region was barren and marshy. From the days of the Kṣatrapas, Śvabhra or the Sabarmati valley was a distinct and well-populated locality,⁵² thus supporting the identification of Ach-a-li with Aślālī or Āśāpallī as the old capital of a little kingdom. The *Purāṇas* also contain evidence that long before 641 A.C. the valleys of the Sarasvatī, Śvabhramatī, Mahī and the Narmadā, and Ānarta and Surāṣṭra were prosperous, well-peopled regions.⁵³

To the south Jambusar, Akrūreśvara modern Anklesvar, Śrībhavan or modern Sarbhon, Navasārikā modern Navsari, Kaimreja modern Kamrej, were towns of importance; Nagaras, Nirgamas, places where fairs were held and Janapadas were all over these countries.

The capital of Mālava on the Mahī remains unidentified. Siddhapura was a place of learning, and Bhīllamāla, of course, was the capital of Gūjara-deśa.

There are references to Kunbi (Kuṭumbī) agriculturists, potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, and cobblers. Bullock carts were used for travelling. Houses were built of wood. Swords, bows and arrows were the weapons of warfare. Leather was used for making buckets (*kośa*) for drawing water. The practice of shaving was well-known and widespread. Stitched clothes were rarely worn; the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣa-carita* show that in the main, people wore unstitched clothes.⁵⁴

The kings gave away villages or land to the Brāhmaṇas of Valabhī, Girinagar (modern Junagadh), Simhapura, Ānartapur (Vadanagar) and Broach but there were no subcastes among Brāhmaṇas. The grantees were authorised to relinquish the right of governing the places granted and of enjoying them perpetually by either tilling the lands themselves or getting them tilled by hired labour.

The inscriptions of the period are written in the verbose, ornate style of the Saṁskṛta writers of the seventh century A.C. Bāṇa and Daṇḍin were not freaks but master craftsmen of the style in fashion. The courts of the Valabhī kings must have abounded in pundits capable of producing such literary effort.

⁵² *EI.* VIII, 44. जनपदानां स्ववीर्यार्जितानामनुरक्तसर्व्वप्रकृतीनां पूर्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृदानत्त-
सुराष्ट्र (भु)र (म)रु (कन्)च्छ (स्) इ (न्) धु स् (औ) व् (ई) रकुपुरापरान्तनिषादीनां...

⁵³ *Vāyu*, XLV, 130-31. नासिकयाद्याश्च ये चान्ये ये वै चान्तरनर्मदाः ।

भास्कच्छाः समाहेयाः सहसा शान्तिरपि ॥

काच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च आनर्ताश्चार्जुनैः सह ।

इत्येते संपरीताश्च शणुष्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः ॥

⁵⁴ *GMRI* I, 16.

CHAPTER III

LIFE AND CULTURE (500-700 A.C.)

WHAT Yuan Chwang saw and recorded was but a fraction of the life and culture which prevailed in India. The organisation of life evolved in the country under the urge provided by Ārya Dharma, was unique in the history of the world.

I

Since the days of Paraśurāma, Anūpa, Ānarta, Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha, Aparānta and Avanti were intermittently dominated by Āryan culture¹.

The Dharma, which even in the Vedic and post-Vedic times was growing towards its ultimate scope and content, was the overarching law of life. It comprised of rituals and myths, of modes of life and canons of conduct, of traditions, of a wealth of language and literature, of a theory of life and social organisation, and of living ideals. Historic continuity was preserved through a belief in the *Vedas* as the ultimate source of all inspiration. The mythology embraced sacred legends of rivers, mountains, cities, royal houses, semi-divine heroes and sages, which made the past a vital heritage to every succeeding age.

The social organisation was based on a family life dominated by strong patriarchal traditions. It afforded shelter to every needy and helpless member, and as a corollary imposed strict regard for feminine virtue so essential to preserve the purity of race and culture. It was based on a hierarchy of social groups divided according to the standard of culture attained by each. At its head stood the Brāhmaṇas devoted to learning, culture and self-discipline. The hierarchical organization permitted a newcomer to benefit by, but never to destroy, social achievements, and offered scope to the uncultured to rise in the scale of life but never so fast as to jeopardise its stability.

Śaṁskṛta, a language perfect in structure and elastic in expression, with a rich, varied, beautiful literary achievement, was the living embodiment of the Dharma. Finally, all conduct was regulated by one unchanging, supreme code of ethical values. Though running through a diversity of religious beliefs, it insisted on the observance of the great vows—mahā-vratas—of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession. The fundamental of this Dharma from the beginning was a supreme faith in human endeavour, self discipline (saṁyama) and asceticism (tapas). These alone could lead a man to shed his limitations and become the 'Supreme' in this life. Emphasis was laid on individual experience and becoming, rather than

¹ EAG., 34-52.

on belief and scriptural word. And its base was a living conception of Āryāvarta, the sacred land of the Aryans, leavened by an abiding veneration for those who lived and died so that it may live great and eternal.

II

During the period under review the social aspect of Ārya Dharma, Varnāśramadharma, was not conceived as a mere conglomeration of four castes. It was a social synthesis. Not only it regulated life but provided an effective process of social evolution without striking at the continuity of life. This organisation had grown apace since the days of Viśvāmitra. The racial supremacy of the Aryans had been converted into a hierarchy of social corporations. Divided according to functions, they were ranged in an order based on the degree to which Aryan culture had been absorbed.

From the beginning Dharma was related to Āryāvarta. Wherever Dharma prevailed, there was Āryāvarta without any frontier, geographical or political. With the spread of Aryan culture and ideas regarding social organisation peculiar to it, the older view that Āryāvarta was restricted to the region north of the Vindhya no longer held good². The new view was that Āryāvarta was so called because Āryas sprang up in it again and again even if the mlechhas overran it, they could abide there for long³. But Kṣatriya king of meritorious conduct could conquer the land of the mlechhas, establish cāturvarṇya there, assign to mlechhas a position occupied by the Cāṇḍālas in Āryāvarta and render the country fit for sacrifice⁴ like Āryāvarta itself. Bhāratavarṣa was the karmabhūmi, the land of pure deeds, and stretched from the oceans to the Himalayas⁵.

The four social corporations theoretically existed throughout the country ; they were not water-tight compartments. In reality many social groups lived unrelated to Varnāśrama. New groups were given place in the scheme

² HDS. II, Pt. I, 16, 17.

³ Medhātithi on *Manu*, II, 22 : आर्या वर्तन्ते पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति ।

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 23 : यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान् पराजयेन चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् म्लेच्छाश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोऽपि स्याद्यज्ञियः । यतो भूमिर्न स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गादि सा दुष्यति ।

⁵ *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57, 59. दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वेण च महोदधिः ।

हिमवानुत्तरेणास्य कार्युक्तस्य यथा गुणः ॥ तदेतद्भारतं वर्षम् ॥

Vāyu, 45, 75-76 :

इदं तु मध्यमं चित्रं शुभाशुभफलोदयम् ।

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवदक्षिणं च यत् ॥

वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा ।

भरणाच्च प्रजानां वै मनुर्भरत उच्यते ।

निरुक्तवचनाच्चैव वर्षं तद्भारतं स्मृतम् ॥

by ingenuous explanations. But throughout the ages educated men by collective willing organised life according to the theory.

The first and the most important of these corporations was of the Brāhmaṇas. For centuries the Brāhmaṇa created and guarded both the spirit and form of the culture which harmonised the whole country. He married freely with members of the other corporations, of course by anuloma only. Pursuit of learning and culture in all its aspects was his principal function. Disciplined life devoted to idealism was his universal test. He was the steel-frame of the social organisation. He had no force behind him except that of character and persuasion. He was expected to lead a life of comparative poverty and stern discipline. He had no wealthy endowments to support him in luxury. To study, to teach, to guide on the lines of Dharma, these were his vocations. He was also the creator and custodian of a magnificent wealth of literature ; the guide, the teacher, the philosopher, the friend of all, undertaking the duties of his office in return for scanty and precarious gifts. Worldly pursuits or rich living deprived him of his prestige, his office of a teacher and the patronage on which he lived.

Bāṇa describes how he set out to meet Emperor Śrī Harṣa. He rose early in the morning. Having taken his bath, he put on a fresh clean white piece of cloth. With rosary in hand he recited Vedic mantras which he was to recite on his journey. He then worshipped the idol of Śiva, the god of gods. He first bathed it with milk, then offered sweet smelling flowers, incense and pigments with great devotion. He also offered many other things and waved the lights before it with devotion. The fire-god was also propitiated by sacrifice. The offerings of ghee and sesamum made its flame go the right way. According to his means, he gave presents to Brāhmaṇas. Having gone round the sacrificial cow which stood facing the east, he applied white powder to his body, put on white garlands, wore white clothes and put siddhārtha in the hair of his head. The elders smelt him on the head by way of blessing. Putting forward his right leg first, he started from Prītikūṭa village followed by his relatives who had in their hands flowers and fruits. They also chanted Vedic mantras⁶.

The Brāhmaṇas no doubt took to the profession of arms, and even ruled over kingdoms. Haricandra, the first known king of Gūrjaradeśa, was a Brāhmaṇa.⁷ The king of Ujjayinī, as Yuan Chwang records, was a

⁶ H.C., 56-57. अथान्यस्मिन्नहन्त्युत्थाय प्रातरेव स्नात्वा धृतधौतधवलदुकूलवासा गृहीताक्षमालः प्रास्थानिकानि सूक्तानि मंत्रपदानि बहुशः समावर्त्य देवदेवस्य विरूपाक्षस्य क्षीरस्नपनपुरःसरां सुरभिः कुसुमधूपगन्धज्वजबलविलेपनप्रदीपबहुलां विधाय पूजां परमया भक्त्या प्रथमहुततरलितत्वग्विचटनचटुलमुखर-शिखाशेखरं प्राज्याज्याहुतिप्रवर्धितदक्षिणाचिषं भगवन्तमाशुशुक्षिणं हुत्वा दत्त्वा शुम्भं यथाविद्यमानं द्विजेभ्यः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्राक्कुलीं नैचिकीं, शुक्राङ्गरागः शुक्रमाल्यः शुक्रवासाः शिखासक्तसिद्धार्थकः...आप्रातः शिरसि कुलवृद्धैः मौहूर्तिक्रमतेन कृतनक्षत्रदोहदः...प्रणम्य कुलदेवताभ्यः कुसुमफलपाणिभिरप्रतिरथं जप-द्विर्निजद्विजैरनुगम्यमानः प्रथमचलितदक्षिणचरणः प्रीतिकृद्याभिरगात् ।

⁷ J.R.A.S., 1894, 4-9 ; 1895, 516-18 : विष्णो सिरि हरिश्चंदो भज्जा आसि ति खसिआ भंदा ।

Brāhmaṇa,⁸ and so were the founders of the lines of the Paramāras and the Cāhamānas⁹. So were the king of Sind, whose son was slain by Muhammad Kasim in 712 A.C.¹⁰ and the Śāhi kings (883-1026 A.C.) of Afghanistan, who fought Mahmud of Ghazna¹¹. But a Brāhmaṇa king was not a priest-king ; he ceased to be a priest and became a king. Even he had to have a Brāhmaṇa purohita wedded to self-denying life. But, on the whole, the corporation pursued its self-appointed task with a singleness of purpose, which has few parallels in history.

The old Vedic āśramas disappeared. Their place was taken up by great universities, by temples, monasteries and educational institutions spread throughout the country. Learning was pursued and tradition vitalised there by intensive training. The home of every pundit also was an educational institution, where deserving young men got food and education free of charge. The village pundit drew his inspiration from the nearest city, where the learned of the district congregated. Even in the small portion of India from Nasik to Bhillamāla described by Yuan Chwang, there were centres of learning at Nasik, Broach, Malwa, Āśāpallī, Khetākapura, Valabhī, Verāvala, Ānandapura, Bhillamāla and Ujjayinī. Of these Nasik, Valabhī, Bhillamāla and Ujjayinī were, to use the modern phrase, 'University Towns.' Yuan Chwang found similar centres all over the country. Nālandā, described in glowing colours by the illustrious pilgrim, gives a picture of one of the great universities of all time¹². Bāṇa's description of Divākaramiśra's āśrama¹³ was not fiction but a fact common in the country when his friend Śrī Harṣa ruled India.

This great corporation with its thousands of institutions all over the country and possibly hundreds of thousands of homes illumined by intensive cultural activity, provided not only religion and ritual but law, ethics, philosophy, thought, literature and art ; medicine, astronomy, mathematics and other sciences ; the science of state-craft and the practice of war. It provided the means of social uplift by education, ethical training and the spread of knowledge to everyone who was willing to come within the sphere of its influence. Though this corporation was spread over the country in the days when it took years to go from one end of it to another, it had acquired both a collective consciousness and a will.

Saṃskṛta was the living national medium from Kashmir to Kāñcī. A new thought or a new literary masterpiece, within a few years, commanded the attention of every one of these centres. Śaṅkara, a Brāhmaṇa from Malabar, by sheer power of intellect not only dominated the university towns but the whole speculative thought of the country in his own life-time. Within about two generations of his death, his works were commented upon by Vācaspati Miśra, a great scholar of Mithilā in the North. Saṃskṛta was

⁸ BRW. II, 271.⁹ Chap. I, n. 21.¹⁰ HMHI. I, 162.¹¹ AI. II, 13,¹² OYC. II, 164-65,¹³ HC., 236-38.

not merely the language of the learned. It was the language of literature and law, of ritual and philosophy¹⁴, of gentility and accomplishment.

The *Mahābhārata* had already acquired a unique position in life. "The essence of the four Vedas permeated it. When the gods first weighed it, it was found weightier than the *Vedas* themselves¹⁵. This great work embodied the majesty of Ārya Dharma in all its aspects. Beautiful stories and interesting fables ; moral tales and wise sayings ; the fundamentals of law and civilization ; attempts to co-ordinate all the activities of culture and ethics ; efforts to popularize principles which made the age great ; and epic records of heroic men and women who exhibited elemental greatness, all were incorporated in it. It immortalized the proud and joyous manhood of Bhārata-varṣa. And the author of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* thus expressed the eternal prayer of the Indian heart : " Even the gods sing thus : Blessed are the men who live in the land of Bhārata, like unto the high road to Heaven and to Liberation, for they are higher than gods themselves."¹⁶

There were various kinds of Brāhmaṇas. The pundit was the repository of learning, ritual and tradition. The family priest had his own function to perform ; so had the physician who saved life and the astrologer who dispensed hope and consolation with the aid of the stars. There were Brāhmaṇa ministers attached to every kingly house. They softened, if not controlled, the vagaries of autocrats by imposing on them a standard of traditional conduct prescribed by the *Smṛtis* and the *Purāṇas*. There were Brahmaṇa warriors and ministers who were not merely men of arms but statesmen of recognised worth. The sandhivigrahikas or ambassadors, and the professional court-writers were in most cases Brāhmaṇas. There were, of course, the village Purāṇikas and the village priests, who catered to the lowly in their own language and were the messengers of Dharma in far away places. They constituted an agency of social uplift, which brought an ever-expanding circle of adherents into the folds of Cāturvarṇya. There were also the outstanding examples of learning or character who in every generation set up the standard. They re-lived the ideals for which the culture stood. By their outstanding intellectual, legal or scientific achievement, they kept India ahead of other cultured nations of the world. Above them all stood the Yogī. He might belong to any stage : a celibate (Brahma-cārī) or a householder (Gr̥hastha), a hermit (Vānaprastha), or an ascetic (Sannyāśī). By intensive self-culture, he attained a personality which was free from attachment, fear and anger. He observed the great vows, and acquired power and perfection which was not far removed from divinity.

¹⁴ *EHI.*, 319 ff.

¹⁵ *Mbh.* I, 1, 272 : पुरा किल सुरैः सर्वैः समेत्य तुलया धृतम् । चतुर्भ्यः सरहस्येभ्यो वेदोभ्यो ह्यधिकं यदा ॥

¹⁶ *Viṣṇu* II, 3, 24 : गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि धन्यास्तु ते भारतभूमिभागे ।

स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥

In this way active centre of revitalising the fountain springs of Aryan culture¹⁷ were created in every age.

III

When the Varṇāśramadharmā was first conceived, the corporation of Brāhmaṇa was professional rather than hereditary. It was interdependent with the Kṣatriya or the martial corporation, which was also drawn from the same class and was imbued with the same passionate devotion for Dharma. Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya were not far removed from one another. The king was not complete without his Brāhmaṇa preceptor; Sudāsa could not exist without Vasiṣṭha, Candragupta Maurya without Cānakya, Śrī Harṣa without Bhaṇḍin. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* laid down that the Śrotiya and the king were both the upholders of Dharma¹⁸. A king must first find a Purohita, for he was the half soul of the king.¹⁹ Both together led to the eminence of each²⁰. The kingly power had no meaning unless it was coupled with the performance of sacrifices requiring hundreds of Brāhmaṇas, or with munificent grants to them. The cultural achievements of the Gupta empire could not be conceived without the complete collaboration which existed between the two corporations.

The political development of India of that age, or, for that matter, of any pre-British age, must be examined from the viewpoint which thinkers in India had been evolving for over two millenniums. In India, the political fabric was reared during millenniums as an instrument of maintaining unbroken continuity of corporate cultural existence. The statesmen and thinkers who built it up, divorced kingly power from political administration. This divorce guaranteed both security and popular autonomy. It left to a king the freedom to satisfy his ambition by conquest, styled digvijaya, without disturbing the even tenor of social and religious life. In the field of law, whoever ruled, the *Smṛtis*, subject to the variations of local custom, were supreme. They could only be construed by a pariśad of learned Brāhmaṇas; they could not be overridden.²¹ An attempt at a violent change would involve revolt of such a universal nature as no conqueror, however great, would dare to face. Each locality and each community regulated life

¹⁷ *Yoga Sūtra* II, 30, 31 : अहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्य्यापरिग्रहा यमाः ।

× × ×
जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमा महाव्रतम् ।

¹⁸ *Sat.* V. 4. 45. एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैतौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ ।

¹⁹ *Ait.*, 34.8 : अर्द्धात्मो ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः ।

²⁰ *Tait.* V, 1. 10. 3.

²¹ *Yājñavalkya* I, 9 : चत्वारो वेदधर्मज्ञाः पर्वत्त्रैविध्यमेव वा । सा ब्रूते यं स धर्मः स्यादेको वाऽप्यात्मवित्तमः ॥

according to its canons. In extreme cases only, there would be an appeal to the king, which in reality meant a reference to the heads of the community involved and to the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya ministers, who in their turn would be guided by those versed in the Dharma.

The king's primary duty was to uphold Dharma²². The highest praise for a king, as in the case of Dharasena II of Valabhī, was that he got his subjects to observe the rules of conduct laid down by all the *Smṛtis*²³. The Gupta emperors were as accomplished as highly educated Brāhmaṇas. Dharasena III of Valabhī is described as gratifying the minds of the learned by his pursuit of knowledge.²⁴ His son Dhruvasena II was an adept in grammar as well as in the arts of government.²⁵ Śrī Harṣa, in spite of his absorbing pre-occupations, as described by Yuan Chwang, was himself a man of great learning, an author, a friend and patron of authors. A practical moralist who had taken the vows of constancy, he had foresworn wine and flesh. The ideal king was he, in whose kingdom there was none who was averse to Dharma, none in distress, none poor, none vicious or miserly, none deserving punishment, none downtrodden.²⁶

The Kṣatriyas were highly educated and learned in the Śāstras. Most of them were the pupils of Brāhmaṇa preceptors. The study of the *Vedas* and the *Smṛtis*, the *Upavedas* and the *Purāṇas* was a necessary equipment for a king.²⁷ Even Alberuni says that the Brāhmaṇas taught the *Vedas* to the Kṣatriyas.²⁸ Rudradāman, the descendant of a foreigner, knew grammar, music, logic and other Śāstras in addition to the arts of war.²⁹

The administrative machinery introduced by the Gupta emperors, or more likely inherited from earlier rulers, continued to function through the centuries with variations only of detail right up to the British period.

Civil administration was regulated in a manner which left little scope for interference at the hands of a king. There was the village governed

²² *Sat.* V, 4. 4. 5 explains *RV.* I, 25, 10 as धृतव्रत इति । धृतव्रतौ वै राजा ।

Gautama Dharmasūtra VIII, 1 : द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च ।

Manu VII, 10 : कुरुते धर्मसिद्धयर्थं विश्वरूपं पुनः पुनः ॥

²³ *EI.* IV, 210 : वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थापनप्रवृत्तचक्रः प्रभाकरवर्धनः ।

IA. XII, 148 : सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो.....

²⁴ *CII.* III, No. 38, 164. सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिरायः ।

²⁵ *HIG.* I, 146 : विदधानस्सन्धिविग्रहः समासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद् गुणवृद्ध विधान-जनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोद्भवयोरपि निर्णयः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि...

²⁶ *CII.* III, No. 14, vs. 6 : तस्मिन्नुपे शासति नैव कश्चिद्दर्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु । आर्तो-दरिद्री व्यसनी कदर्यो, दण्ड्यो न वा यो भृशपीडितः स्यात् ॥

²⁷ *HDS.* II, Pt. I, 354.

²⁸ *AI.* I, 125.

²⁹ *EI.* VIII, 47. शब्दार्थगान्धर्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगावाप्त-विपुलकीर्तिना..... ।

by its *Pañcāyata*, protected by *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa*, the hereditary policemen. The headman of the village, *Akṣapāṭalika*, was the principal officer, whose sanction was not the support of a centrally organised police force but the good-will of the respectable members of the village community. The village records were in charge of *Dhruva*, the village accounts in charge of *Mahattara*. A group of a hundred or more villages made a *Viṣaya* (a modern Tehsil or Taluka as we would call it) over which the *Viṣayapati*, an officer of the king, presided. There were police stations for every ten or more villages, a higher police officer over a *Viṣaya* called *Cauroddharaṇika*. *Vartmapālas* stationed in roadside sheds, guarded the roads. The *Pratisaraka*, the night-guard, patrolled the fields and villages. The *Daṇḍanāyaka* or the magistrate, administered criminal justice. The *Daṇḍapāśika* carried out sentences. The *Simākarmakāra* marked out the boundaries. Several *Viṣayas* or Tehsils went to make up a *Bhukti* or *Maṇḍala*, a district, presided over by the *Maṇḍaleśvara*, generally a feudatory prince, and supported by the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, the military governor, appointed by the king. A town was in charge of a *Drāṇika*. The magistrates were controlled by *Adhikaraṇika*, a chief judicial magistrate.³⁰

There were higher officers like *Saulkika*, the superintendent of tolls and customs, *Bhogika*, the collector of revenue, and *Samudgrāhaka*, tax gatherer. Over the *Maṇḍaleśvaras* and *Daṇḍanāyakas*, the provincial authorities, were the ministers *Mantrīs* or *Amātyas*, *Senāpatis*, the generals, the *Sandhivigrahikas*, the ambassadors, the *Purohita*, the royal preceptor. Most of these offices were either hereditary or went to the most deserving member of one of the leading families. The expenditure for administration, as Yuan Chwang testifies, was little.³¹ The king rarely levied taxes beyond what was sanctioned by the *Smṛtis*. Even Rudradāman, the Kṣatrapa, looked back with pride on his constructing the lake Sudarśana at Girnar without levying special taxes, using forced labour, or levying any other contribution from his subjects.³² Various kinds of taxes were being levied. FLEET has come to the conclusion that the chief of them, *Udraṅga*, was the state's share of the produce of the land.³³

It is not clear on what the supertax *uparikara* was levied. But Manu has provided for a sixth share out of things like trees, flesh, honey, ghee, herbs etc.³⁴ The tax was probably levied on the sale of these commodities. A copper plate of the Vākāṭaka king, Pravarasena, indicates the existence of

³⁰ BG. I, Pt. I, 81-82.

³¹ OYC. I, 176, 343.

³² EI. VIII, 47 : धर्मकीर्तिवृद्धयर्थं चापीडयित्वा करविशिष्टप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं

³³ CH. III, 112.

³⁴ Manu VII, 131-132 : आददीताथ षड्भागं द्रुमांसमधुसर्पिणाम् ।

गन्धौषधिरसानां च पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ॥

पत्रशाकतृणानां च चर्मणां वै दलस्य च ।

मृष्ययानां च भाण्डानां सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च ॥

taxes on flowers and milk.³⁵ There were taxes also on those who committed the ten deadly sins, *Daśāparādha*. The officer in charge of the collection of this tax was called *Daśāparādhika*.³⁶ There is also a reference to an officer called *Avalokika*. Possibly he was the officer in charge of the collection of the *uparikara* tax.³⁷ *Dūtaka* is a term applied to the officer who used to execute the king's orders as regards gifts and similar orders.³⁸

The Chinese traveller was impressed with the honesty of the people as Megasthenes was, a thousand years before.³⁹ It was but the natural result of the Śāstric rules which required the learned and the leading citizens to be respected, and which enjoined the officers to cultivate forgiveness, lordliness, modesty, statesmanship, courage, fortitude, the capacity to curb the wicked and keep the subjects pleased, liberality and Vedic learning.⁴⁰ According to Yuan Chwang, serious offences were not very common,⁴¹ though the highways and waterways were not as safe as in the Gupta period. The chances of highway robbery could by no means be ignored. Imprisonments were a common form of punishment for crimes. The conditions inside the jails, however, must have been pretty bad. Convicts were not regarded as human beings at all.⁴² Following the *Smṛtis* corporal punishments, cutting off of nose, ears, and hands were current.⁴³ Witnesses were no doubt examined in courts, but various kinds of ordeals e.g. by water or fire, were also in vogue.⁴⁴

The principal ambition of kings was to bring other kings into submission by digvijaya. Since ancient times, the army had four broad divisions, the elephants, the cavalry, the infantry and the chariots.⁴⁵ From the *Harṣacarita* and the description of Yuan Chwang, it appears that chariots were not in vogue.⁴⁶ Elephants were largely used in warfare. The cavalry was used. But as an instrument of warfare it was perfected by the imperial Gūjaras. The grooms were mostly Cāṇḍālas. Amongst weapons bows and arrows, swords and lances were common. The kings mostly rode on elephants. The members of the royal household, the ministers and their families also used to accompany the marching forces. The journey was made on elephants, on horses or in bullock carts. Vaidyas, physicians, were kept with the army. At the moment of departure, kettledrums, conches and other instruments

³⁵ *Prācīna Lekhamālā* (NS.) No. 84.

³⁶ *HIG.* I, 69, No. 40.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *OYC.* I, 153; *BRW.* I, 77.

⁴⁰ *CII.* III, No. 14, vss. 17, 18 : क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च शौर्यं विना शौर्यमहाचर्चनं च ।
वाक्यं दमो दानमदीनता च दाक्षिण्यमातृण्यमशून्यता च ॥
सौन्दर्यमार्येतरनिग्रहश्च अविस्मयो धैर्यमुदीर्णता च ।
इत्येवमेतेऽतिशयेन यस्मिन्नविप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति ॥

⁴¹ *OYC.* I, 171.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 83-84.

⁴³ *EHI.*, 133.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *OYC.* I, 171.

were played⁴⁷. The *Harṣa-carita* says that they used to cover about eight Kośas (sixteen miles) in a day⁴⁸. Camps were erected wherever the army rested. These camps used to be made out of twigs and leaves⁴⁹, which were burnt when the army marched forward. The army comprised mainly of Kṣatriyas. Officers of the army and the chief civil officers did not get any salaries but were given grants of land in lieu of it⁵⁰. The regularly paid army was the creation of the imperial Gūrjaras of the Pratihāra dynasty.

An energetic king's interference, therefore, only involved supplanting old generals by his friends, nominating a new *mahā-amātya* (prime minister), in most cases without removing the old ones, and appointing fresh *Muṇḍaleśvaras* or *Viṣayapatis* from out of the local magnates. Generally, there was only a change at the centre. Administration for all practical purposes remained in the hands of the same class of people or regulated by the same traditions and canons of conduct. Purity of administration was enforced, less by official support than by the concentrated opinion of the respectable members of the community, who were guided by the leading Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

The royal function was restricted, First, to applying the Dharmaśāstras to the people and repressing the violation of its injunction, and Secondly, to waging wars of conquest and glory. Sovereignty, while it was denied interference in matters religious and moral, had some scope during wars. But the waging of wars had its limitations, which rendered it as innocuous as it could be. The king had to rely upon the army which commonly consisted of the Kṣatriya corporation of his locality. Its leaders considered themselves as descendants of Purāṇic kings. In the hands of a king, therefore, they could be heroes, but never mercenaries.

The ordinary small wars were waged by the king and his own kinsmen. But the bulk of the Kṣatriyas could only be mobilised by the leadership of a great king. That is why the conqueror could not ordinarily dethrone the king of a locality and annex it; he had to find a subservient but important member of the locality to be his feudatory. Manu and Kauṭilya support this view⁵¹. Even Samudragupta did not, or was not allowed to, displace ruling

⁴⁷ HC., 203, 204. अथ गलति तृतीये यामे सुप्तसमस्तसत्त्वनिःशब्दे दिक्कुञ्जरजृम्भमाणगम्भीर-
ध्वनिरताव्यत प्रयाणपटहः ।.... ततो रटपटहे नन्दनान्दीके गुञ्जत्कुञ्जे कूजत्काहले, शब्दायमानशङ्खे
क्रमोपचीयमानकटककलकले.....

⁴⁸ Ibid. अग्रतः स्थित्वा च मुहूर्तमिव पुनः प्रयाणकोशसंख्यापकाः स्पष्टमष्टावदीयन्त प्रहाराः पटहे
पटीयांसः ।

⁴⁹ Ibid. निर्मिते महति तृणमये.. बद्धवनमालादग्निं पठद्विन्मनि मंदिरे प्रस्थानमकरोत् ।

⁵⁰ EHI., 355.

⁵¹ Manu VII, 201-203. जित्वा संपूजयेद्देवान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान् ।

प्रदद्यात् परिहारांश्च ख्यापयेद्भयानि च ॥

dynasties. The principle of conquest was to "uproot and then to re-establish." Eight hundred years later, Siddharāja, after he had brought Yaśovarman the king of Mālava, his hereditary enemy, a captive to Pāṭaṇa, could not put him to death. The wise Muñjāla advised him not to do so. He knew the Kṣatriyas of Mālava better than Siddharāja⁶². Yaśovarman was left with a petty principality from where his descendants again destroyed the successors of Siddharāja. The vanquished foe was retained on his own throne as a feudatory to satisfy the pride of the local Kṣatriyas; and invariably he raised a standard of revolt at the first weakening of the central authority. That was why no imperial hierarchy, operating over centuries as in Byzantium or in Japan, could spring up in India. Such a hierarchy alone would be interested in maintaining the authority of a weak emperor against ambitious feudatories. The strong man went, and the empire went with him.

From the way life was regulated in the country, any authority concentrated in one hand, which might carry with it the power to destroy the structure of life, was felt a danger greater than that involved in the multiplicity of kings. Throughout the country, the Kṣatriya corporation was one, inspired by the self-same traditions. It provided the requisite sanction of physical coercion against the lawless elements of society. So long as the organisation of life provided cultural harmony and general security in the country, there was no urge to favour the concentration of power in the hands of conquerors with genius and unbounded power-lust. Only when force, which had no regard for Dharma, came on the scene with Islamic raids, that injunctions, which were valuable, became a source of positive danger by preventing military co-operation on a large scale.

There was also a restriction on the king's power to wage war. The king's army may fight to its heart's content or it may not, but ordinarily the battle had to take place away from human habitation. A Brāhmaṇa, a woman and a cow were not to be the victim of war in any event. Kings were not to be put to death except on the battlefield. These conditions reduced the horrors of war, and had little disturbing effect on the society. It was more like a pastime of turbulent men. No other kind of warfare was permitted between kings. Invariably submission, the hand of a daughter, a few hundred elephants and horses were sufficient to placate the ambition or the vanity of the most powerful victor. The conquest was principally intended

सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।

स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥

प्रमाणानि च कुर्वंत तेषां धर्म्यान्वथोदितान् ।

रत्नैश्च पूजयेदेनं प्रधानपुरुषैः सह ॥

Arthaśāstra (Tr. by Shama SHASTRI) Bk. VII, Ch. 16, 339.

⁶² BG. I, Pt. I, 178; KCa. I, 2, 36-37 : अथ निजमभिमानं मालवेन्द्रः सहित्वा कम्युगमन-
मच्छ्रीसिद्धराज्ञः समेत्य । प्रादाद्वाज्यं प्रणतजनतावत्सलः सिद्धराजः तस्मै श्रीमानुचितचतुरो मुक्तगर्वाय सर्वम् ॥

to satisfy the glory of digvijaya and to collect the wealth of a vanquished prince. This wealth went to the conqueror's capital, and to the institutions, educational and religious, both of the conquering and the conquered countries, to all those who were employed in the primary social function of maintaining culture, and to the distressed.

IV

The imperial tradition in India was a part of the cultural tradition. From the earliest times, there was the tradition of a Cakravartī Samrāt or emperor like Māndhātā or Bharata who had obtained sway over the whole world. The Cakravartī, as a concept, was the political counterpart of Dharma⁵³. He was the upholder of the Dharma *par excellence*, a supreme vindicator of law, a repressor of lawlessness among kings just as a king was the repressor of lawlessness among his subjects. He was rarely the destroyer of kings. Paraśurāma, Mahāpadma Nanda and Samudragupta, the only well-known destroyers of kings—Rājyocchettā—were not praiseworthy examples. The ideal Cakravartī or the suzerain was the Sāmanta Cakra Cūḍāmaṇi, the crest-jewel of a circle of feudatories. Aśvamedha was the emblem of his suzerainty. A horse was let loose, and the conquering army followed it. Whoever dared to bar the way of the sacred horse had to give battle, and when conquered, had to bend his knee and pay tribute to the Cakravartī. When the sacred horse had roamed over the whole country, as did the horse of Samudragupta in fact, the Cakravartī performed Aśvamedha, the horse sacrifice. During its lengthy sessions, the Cakravartī distributed the wealth collected during the conquest among the Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the distressed. As in the case of the Gupta emperor, 'the Sun of Valour' reached the zenith only when he was the 'Sun of Dharma'. Even in the 7th century Pulakeśi II performed such an Aśvamedha⁵⁴.

When Yuan Chwang visited the country, there were two emperors in the country, one of the North, the other of the South. But the growth of rival empires did not affect the continuity and unity of cultural, social and religious life or tradition. From 620 A.C. to 997 A.C. there was one long drawn out war between the North and the South. But all imperial dynasties claimed allied ancestry. The Brahmanical learning and tradition were the same. The ideal of Varnāśramadharmā ruled society. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Smytis* moulded, inspired, and directed the minds of men throughout the country. Rājaśekhara, the poet laureate of Mahipāla, the Gūrjara emperor, received equal honour from Yuvarāja I of Cedi who had brought about the downfall of Mahipāla.⁵⁵ Bhāva Brhaspati, the guru of the Mālava king Yaśovarman, became the guru of Siddharāja, when the former was vanquished by the latter⁵⁶. It was a struggle for supremacy between two predominant groups of Kṣatriyas, one of the North, the other of the South. Dharma was the same which both upheld. But when both the

⁵³ Chap. II, n. 1.

⁵⁴ HDS. II, Pt. II, 1238.

⁵⁵ KONOW, *Karapuramañjari*, 101-02.

⁵⁶ IA. XIX, 349; JBBRAS XXV, 324.

empires were weakened by continuous warfare, small feudatories came forward, who ultimately disrupted the homogeneity which pervaded the Kṣatriya corporation in the country. As a result, inter-marriages between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas became obsolete. The consequences were the weakening of the elasticity of varṇāśrama. It became an organisation of four castes instead of four corporations. The social structure thus lost the freshness of outlook which the dvijas of India, as one class, had imparted. The history of the next seven hundred years shows how, as the social structure grew inelastic and no countrywide political sanction was forthcoming to maintain cultural and social solidarity, the country lost its power of resistance.

V

The third corporation of the Vaiśyas also comprised of men of the same class. Its cultural homogeneity with the two other corporations was complete, only its training and attainments were comparatively less intense. Śrī Harṣa himself was a Vaiśya ; his daughter, however, was married to Dhruvasena II, styled Bālāditya, the Kṣatriya king of Valabhī. A later instance was that of Vastupāla, the great minister of Bhīma Cālukya and the Vāghe-lās, who was a scholar, a great warrior and an administrator. When taunted with being a vaṇik, he is reported to have said : ' Messenger ! It is a delusion to think that Kṣatriyas alone can fight, and not a Vaṇik. Did not Āmbaḍa, a Vaṇik, kill Mallikārjuna in battle ? I, a Vaṇik, am well-known in the shop of the battlefield. I buy commodities—the heads of enemies—weighing them in the scales of swords ; I pay the price in the form of heaven⁵⁷ '.

By about the tenth century, inter-marriage between the Vaiśyas and the two higher corporations had grown rare. The Ośvālas and Porvāḍas of Bhīlamāla, Kṣatriyas originally, followed both war and trade as a profession till the thirteenth century. The Vaiśyas represented a dynamic element in the social organisation. As between the members of their corporation, there was greater sense of equality. Foreign trade and the needs of commerce brought them in contact with Indian and non-Indian elements. They were more catholic, and often took a saner view of things. Hence Buddhism and Jainism, with their deep sympathy for the masses, had greater appeal for them. The Sādhus of these sects, drawn from all sections of society, by their learning and piety provided a cultural force which stood away from Brahminical influence, though at the top the Sādhus shared the higher cultural heritage of Dharma. This was nowhere more apparent than in Gūrjaradeśa, Saurāṣṭra, Ānarta and Lāṭa.

⁵⁷ GL., 71.

क्षत्रियाः ! समरकेलिरहस्यं जानते न वणिजो भ्रम एष ।
अम्बडो वणिगपि प्रधने किं मल्लिकार्जुननृपं न जघान ॥
दूत रे वणिगहं रणदृष्टे विश्रुतोऽस्मि तुलया कलयामि
मौलीभाण्डपट्टलानि रिपूणां स्वर्गवेतनमथो वितरामि ॥

The fourth corporation of the Śūdras was not of a race of lower men, but of what may be termed 'the rest'. They were the redeemables of Ārya Dharma. Marriages between Śūdras and members of other corporations were very common. Bāṇa, the Brāhmaṇa friend of emperor Śrī Harṣa, had himself a brother born of a Śūdra step-mother⁵⁸.

The most vital movement in the social organisation of the country was the process by which a little connubial group, while undergoing the necessary cultural discipline, rose from a lower corporation to a higher. In the post-Vedic period, the Saptasindhu Aryans spread only to those parts of northern India, where the same Aryas with a cruder form of culture had already settled or other races had absorbed their way of life. Transition of groups from one corporation to the other, therefore, was easy. Inter-marriages between members of the four corporations⁵⁹ led, not only to a free admixture of blood between their members, but prevented an impassable divergence of cultural ideals. Only an intensive effort to retain both the purity and the vitality of culture became necessary when a group of a lower class came to be raised to the higher. For instance, when one of the wives of a Brāhmaṇa was a Śūdra, as was common, her people had to undergo a more intensive training to reach the requisite standard of culture.

Kṣatriyas were much married and the field of their choice was unlimited. Families which followed the profession of arms, therefore, required a greater pull at every generation to be kept within the moral and traditional ambit. When aboriginal, foreign or even Śūdra warrior tribes came into the fold they were absorbed into the Kṣatriya corporation. They all brought their own beliefs, rituals and ways of life with them, and called for a greater effort before they were infused with the form and tradition necessary for complete absorption. With the spread of Aryan culture to the south of the Narmadā, its absorbative capacity was strained by having to deal with vast masses of people unfamiliar with the new way of life. But by the first or the second century after Christ, the whole country from Kashmir to Rameshvaram from Kathiawar to Assam was in fact partially organised and theoretically based on Varnāśramadharma. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas were working throughout the country, hand in hand, to strengthen it.

The cultural tendencies, radiating from the great centres of high-browed learning, had their popular movements, which reached out to the lowly and

⁵⁸ HC., 41 : अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च । तथा च । भ्रातरौ पारशर्वा चंद्रसेनमातृषेणौ ।

⁵⁹ Manu III, 12, 13 : सवर्णाग्रे द्विजातीनां प्रशस्ता दारकर्मणि ।

कामतस्तु प्रवृत्तानामिमाः स्युः कमशोऽवराः ॥

शूद्रैव भार्या शूद्रस्य सा च स्वा च विशः सृष्टे ।

ते च स्वा चैव राज्ञश्च ताश्च स्वा चाग्रजन्मनः ॥

Yajñavalkya (Vyavahāra), 125. चतुर्विधैकभागाः स्युर्वर्णशो ब्राह्मणात्मजाः ।

क्षत्रजास्त्रिद्वैकभाग् विहजास्तु द्वैकभागिनः ॥

the alien. The Vedic forms, the Bhāgavata Dharma and the cult which worshipped Śiva as Īśāna were largely prevalent among the educated classes, on the other hand, the Pāśupata cult, Buddhism and Jainism were the three great movements, which, though emanating from the highest products of Ārya Dharma, as popular forces brought millions within the fold. The Ābhīras were Vaiṣṇavas⁶⁰. The Yüe-chis, who immigrated into India, became Śaivites.⁶¹ The Greek Heliodorus became a Bhāgavata⁶²; the Scythians took to Śaivism⁶³; Kaniṣka and his followers became Buddhists⁶⁴. In these movements also the inspiration and the strength came from men of intellectual or yogic distinction, who, though not necessarily Brāhmaṇas, were equally the apostles of Dharma. The ritualistic or philosophic aspects were different; the fundamentals in all cases were the same. But this new task, to which the cultural agencies were put, retarded the intensive pursuit of educational and cultural activities.

Then came the imperial Guptas. In spite of their giving Ārya Dharma a new edge and fresh resources to deal with the new situation, two movements can be traced even in their time. A substantial alien element having been brought into the social and cultural fold and the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas tending to become distinct connubial groups, Saṁskṛta, once the polished form of Aryan dialect, became the medium of high culture in consequence. It did not cease to be the medium of communication throughout the country, but it lost touch with active life. It became the language of the elite, to be acquired and developed only with meticulous regard for correctness and form. The guiding test of its excellence was more the effort involved in attaining it than in its capacity to express the experiences of actual life. Consequently, in the hands of Bhaṭṭi and Māgha, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, it attained a new stage of elaborate expressiveness.

This opened a wider gulf between the ordinary people speaking the language of their own area, and the educated who spoke and thought in Saṁskṛta. Apabhraṁśa, consequently, became a literary language for the delectation of the masses, instead of being only a dialect. With the growth of Apabhraṁśa as an intermediate medium of culture the sources of inspiration, which came from Saṁskṛta, became one degree removed from those who needed it.

⁶⁰ *EHI.*, 225.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁶² *JRAS*, 1909, 1053, 1087, 1093.

⁶³ *EHI.*, 225; *Mbh.* (*Bhīṣma*) XI, 28 :

शक्रो नाम महाराज प्रजा तस्य सदानुगा ।

तत्र पुण्या जनपदाः पूज्यते तत्र शंकरः ॥

⁶⁴ *EHI.*, 281.



CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST EMPIRE OF GŪRJARADEŚA : ITS FOUNDATION

I

AFTER Yaśovarman (725-752 A.C.), the patron of Bhavabhūti¹, Kanauj had no ruler worthy of note. One Rai Hariścandra is mentioned as ruling there but nothing is known about him.² Gopāla I of the Pāla dynasty was just restoring order in Bengal. The imperial Cālukyas of Bādāmī, the successors of Pulakeśi II, were the only formidable rulers in India. The northern boundary of their empire was probably the river Kim in south Gujarat between modern Broach and Surat.³ It also included the Central Provinces⁴. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, possibly the feudatories of the Cālukyas, ruled in parts of Vidarbha, modern Berar⁵. Near the Vindhya, the powerful ruler Prthvī-Vyāghra held sway describing himself Sakalavindhyaḍhipati.⁶

Under Śilāditya IV, the Maitraka (671 to 706 A.C.), Valabhī was still a magnificent city. Daṇḍī, who wrote about this time, has given a fine description of it and of its merchant prince Gṛhagupta, who was the owner of many sea-faring vessels⁷. But Valabhī was slowly losing hold over its possessions before the growing power of the Cālukyas of Bādāmī. In 722 A.C. Valabhī lost Khetaka Maṇḍala to Jayabhata III, the then feudatory of Maṅgalarāja, the Cālukya, who was ruling over Lāṭa from his capital at Navsari⁸. It is likely that the allied forces of Jayabhata and Maṅgalarāja deprived the Valabhī kings of their main land possessions. Modern Gujarat upto and inclusive of Khetaka Maṇḍala, was included in the empire of the Cālukyas, when the first quarter of the eighth century ended.

II

A cloud certainly bigger than a man's hand was rising in the West. In 636 A.C. Usman, the governor of Oman, without the permission of Caliph Umar (634-44 A.C.), had sent an army to Thana but had to withdraw it under his master's orders⁹. Usman's brother a little later sent an army to attack

¹ EHI, 392.

² ELLIOT, I, 207-08.

³ R., 30.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁶ Ibid., 30-31.

⁷ Daṇḍin, *Daśakumāra Carita*, (NS., 1936), 225. अस्ति सौराष्ट्रेषु बलभी नाम नगरी । तस्यां

गृहगुप्तनाम्नो गुह्यकेन्द्रतुल्यविभवस्य नाविक्रपतेर्दुहिता रत्नवती नाम ।

⁸ ELLIOT, I, 116.

⁹ BG., I, Pt. I, 523.

Broach but Caca, the Brāhmaṇa king of Sind, defeated the army and killed the Arab general Abdul Aziz²⁰. In 706 A.C. the general of Caliph Walīr subdued Makran and converted the Baluchis to Islam²¹. Islam was now on the borders of India. Self-contained India went its way, unaware of the impending danger.

In 711 A.C. Hajjāj, the ferocious Arab general, sent his son-in-law Muḥammad ibn Qāsim to invade Dāhira, the Brāhmaṇa king of Sind²². He captured the city, staged mass massacres, imprisoned women and children, and sacked the temples. One fifth of the loot was sent to Hajjāj, in addition to 75 maidens. The valiant Dāhira with 50,000 warriors met Muḥammad ibn Qāsim's army, died while fighting, and his army was routed. His widow led the remnant of the army to the field of battle and lost her life. Their son fled to Bahmanābād. Their two daughters, who fell into the hands of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, were sent as presents to the Caliph, who ultimately burnt them alive.²³

The next Caliph Hishām (724-43 A.C.) appointed Junayd the governor of Sind. Junayd in c. 725 A.C. sent Muslim armies to invade Marwar, Broach, Ujjain, Malwa and GŪrjaradeśa. In their onward march, they defeated the Saindhavas, the kings of Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra, the kings of Valabhī as well as the Cāvoṭakas, the Mauryas of Chitor and the GŪrjaras²⁴. In 726 A.C. Junayd was succeeded by Tamim²⁵. Then the Muslim army attempted to enter the Deccan but between 731 A.C. and 738 A.C. met with disaster near Navsari at the hands of Cālukya Pulakeśi of the Gujarat branch, styled Avanijanāśraya, the brother and successor Maṅgalarāja²⁶.

In the century 625-725 A.C., the kings of GŪrjaradeśa held sway over an extensive territory and so far as is known there were several feudatories under them. If Tāta of the Pratihāra line of Haricandra is rightly equated with the Kṣatriya king of GŪrjaradeśa referred to by Yuan Chwang, there is no doubt that the parent power continued to help the GŪrjara cadets of the family who ruled at Broach. Little, however, is known of the achievements of these kings of GŪrjaradeśa till we come to Śiluka, who could be placed in the second quarter of the eighth century. It was, therefore, in the reign of Śiluka or his father Canduka that the Arabs sacked Bhillamāla. The city was abandoned by the ruler, who withdrew to Mandor, where his successors ruled for more than a century. It was in the course of this struggle that Śiluka must have fixed the boundaries of Stravaṇī and Valla Maṇḍala²⁷.

The Arabs penetrated as far as Ujjayinī in the east and Lāṭa in the south. And aid had to be asked for from the Chinese emperor²⁸.

²⁰ ELLIOT I, 116.

²¹ HR. I, 284.

²² CHI. III, 2.

²³ ELLIOT I, 126.

²⁴ Chap. I, n. 24.

²⁵ ELLIOT, I, 442.

²⁶ n. 14.

²⁷ Appendix A, 1, vs. 18.

²⁸ JDL. X, 22; *Le Nepal* II, 174-75.

Then Nāgabhaṭa appeared, like unto 'Sage Nārāyaṇa', rescuing Gūrjaradeśa from the primeval chaos of devastation by the Mlecchas. Poet Bālāditya thus describes him :—

In that family, Pratihāra called,
And which the three worlds sheltered,
Was wondrously born Nāgabhaṭa,
Like unto Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa himself.
He crushed the mighty hosts of the mlecchas,
Those foes of godly deeds ;
With terror-striking weapons as he stood
He looked like
Him of the Four-arms¹⁹.

Al Balādhurī says that the Arabs made incursions only against Uzain, and attacked Bahariman and burnt its suburbs. On the other hand they conquered Al Bailman and Jurz²⁰. Al Bailman is identified with Bhillamāla ; Jurz is Gūrjara. That explains why Canduka or his son retreated to Mandor. Bhillamāla was captured ; Ujjayinī was not sacked, but only raided.

Nāgabhaṭa then flung back the Arab armies and restored Gūrjaradeśa to freedom. He was not a king, nor a king's son ; "wondrously born" he was, this founder of the line of the imperial Gūrjaras. And soon, he entrenched himself as a powerful ruler in Gūrjaradeśa.

Nāgabhaṭa, there is little doubt, was connected with the family of Haricandra. Both branches of the Pratihāras claimed descent from Lakṣmaṇa, and family names like Nāgabhaṭa, Bhoja and Kakkuka were common. But his proud descendants disdained to claim the relationship with this branch and claimed it from Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Śrī Rāmacandra of Ikṣavāku's ancient line.

Having achieved such a unique triumph, he became not only the founder of his family fortunes, but 'the primeval man Nārāyaṇa' of the imperial line. He was a military leader of great prowess, for, 'the weapons he wielded made him look like Viṣṇu'²¹.

III

In the latter half of the seventh century, Dantivarman (650-670 A.C.) of the Rāṣtrakūṭa family founded a small principality in Berar. He was a scion of the Rāṭhika family which ruled in this region since the time of Aśoka²². One of his successors Govinda I (690-710 A.C.) was a proud and stubborn ruler ; he saluted none but god Śaṅkara²³. Of Karka I, his son,

Appendix B., vs. 4. ²⁰ ELLIOT, I, 126.

²¹ n. 19.

²² R., 9.

IA. XII, 159 : स्वस्ति स्वकीयान्वयवंशकर्ता श्रीराष्ट्रकूटामलवंशजन्मा ।

प्रदानशूरः समरैकवीरो गोविन्दराजः क्षितिपो बभूव ॥

who was a devotee of Viṣṇu, little is known. Karka's elder son, Indra I, was an audacious young man. In c. 722 A.C., he forcibly abducted from the marriage hall in Khetaka, Bhavanāgā, the daughter of a Cālukya king, and married her by the Rākṣasa form of marriage²⁴. Whether she was the daughter of Maṅgalarāja or Pulakeśi of Navsari, it is difficult to say. It is more likely that the princess was the daughter of some Cālukya feudatory who had thrown his lot with the rulers of Valabhī, rather than the daughter of the king of Lāṭa. From this adventurous marriage sprang Dantidurga, one of the greatest warriors and founders of empires.

Indra I died early, for Dantidurga began his career in 745 A.C., when he was only about twenty-two or twenty-three²⁵. Cālukya Vikramāditya II was then on the throne of imperial Bādāmī. Dantidurga first contacted his eastern neighbours of Koṣala and defeated them.²⁶ Next, he turned his attention to Lāṭa, South Gūjarat; vanquished both the king of Broach descended from Haricandra, and the Cālukya of Navsari, the successor of Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya; and annexed Lāṭa²⁷. Before 750 A.C. Dantidurga conquered Lāṭa, the region between Mahī and Revā, Khetaka Maṇḍal and Mālava, and placed his cousin Karka, the grantor of the Āntroli Charoli Grant (757 A.C.), in charge of South Gujarat²⁸. Emperor Kīrtivarman II, the successor of Vikramāditya II, was a shadow of the power that once was Pulakeśi II, the Emperor of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It was not much of an effort for Dantidurga.

Assisted only by a few,
As if by a bend of his eyebrow,
He conquered
That tireless emperor Vallabha
Whose weapons were of undimmed edge,
Him of restless energy, did he (Dantidurga) subdue,
Whose commandments none could defy²⁹.

The modern districts of Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara, and the modern state of Kolhapur were straight way occupied by the conqueror. Kīrtivarman had retired to a distant corner of Karṇāṭaka and his dominions were annexed to the new empire. Dantidurga then marched to the north and invaded Gūjaradeśa. Nāgabhaṭa wisely submitted. The conqueror lived in his palace at Ujjayinī, Nāgabhaṭa's capital, and performed the Hi-

यस्याङ्गमात्रजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य क्षमापालवेशफलमेव बभूव सैन्यम् ।

मुक्त्वा च शंकरमधीश्वरमीश्वराणां नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि यो मनस्वी ॥

²⁴ Appendix C, vs. 7.

²⁵ R., 32.

²⁶ Ibid., 37.

²⁷ Ibid., 38.

²⁸ REU, *History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, 55.

²⁹ JA. XI, 111 : सभूविभङ्गमग्रहीतनिशातशस्त्रम् अश्रान्तमप्रतिद्वताङ्गमपेतयत्नम् ॥

यो बल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन जित्वा भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय

raṇyagarbha mahādāna ceremony³⁰. He also weighed himself against gold, and at his mother's request gave lands to learned Brāhmaṇas³¹.

Ujjayinī was one of the capitals of Gŭrjaradeśa in 754 A.C.³² It appears that after defeating the Muslims, Nāgabhaṭa had consolidated his power, captured East Malwa and transferred his capital from Śrīmāla or Jhalor to Ujjayinī.

Dantidurga, then, came into conflict with the kings of Ṭaṅka and the Arab rulers of Sind, upon whom he inflicted a defeat³³. This battle might have been fought on the soil of Kathiawar.

Dantidurga went back to die. Immediately, Nāgabhaṭa saw his chance. He carried his triumphant arms to the south, crossed the Narmadā and annexed the whole of the mainland of modern Gujarat upto the river Kim to his dominions. Cāhamāna king Bhartṛvṛddha, who ruled from Hansot in the Broach district, in 756 A.C. granted the village of Arjunadevīgrāma situated in Akṛūreśvara Viśaya (Anklesvar) in 'the reign of increasing victory of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka'.³⁴ Jayabhaṭa III or IV³⁵ was the last of the kings of Broach of the old line. His last known date is 734 A.C. This dynasty, therefore, disappeared during the invasion of the Arabs or the conquest of Dantidurga or Nāgabhaṭa.

Dantidurga died in about 757 A.C. at the height of his brilliant career at the age of thirty two. In about twenty years, this young warrior starting from his little principality, which comprised only a part of eastern Gujarat and Vidarbha, conquered Gŭrjaradeśa, Lāṭa and the empire of the Cālukyas of Bādāmī, laying the foundations of a great imperial power. During the time of Dantidurga and his immediate successor, this empire was governed from somewhere near Ellora caves in the Nizam's dominions near the Khandesh district of the Province of Bombay³⁶; and Khandesh from the earliest times had close contact with Gujarat.

Kṛṣṇa I succeeded his nephew in 756 A.C. by a palace revolution³⁷. Two or three years later, he wrested from Kīrtivarman the last shred of the empire which he was holding³⁸.

³⁰ Chap. I, n. 25.

³¹ *IA*, XI, 112, lines 22, 23 : मातृभक्तिः प्रतिग्रामं ग्रामलक्षचतुष्टये ।

दत्त्वा भूयदानानि यस्य मात्रा प्रकाशिता ॥

³² In spite of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records of Dantidurga, Ujjayinī does not appear to be a permanent capital of the Gŭrjaras. Vatsarāja's capital was Jābālipura, modern Jhalor.

³³ *R.*, 35.

³⁴ *EI*, XII, 202-03, line 34 : श्रीमन्नागावलोकप्रवर्धमानविजयराज्ये.....

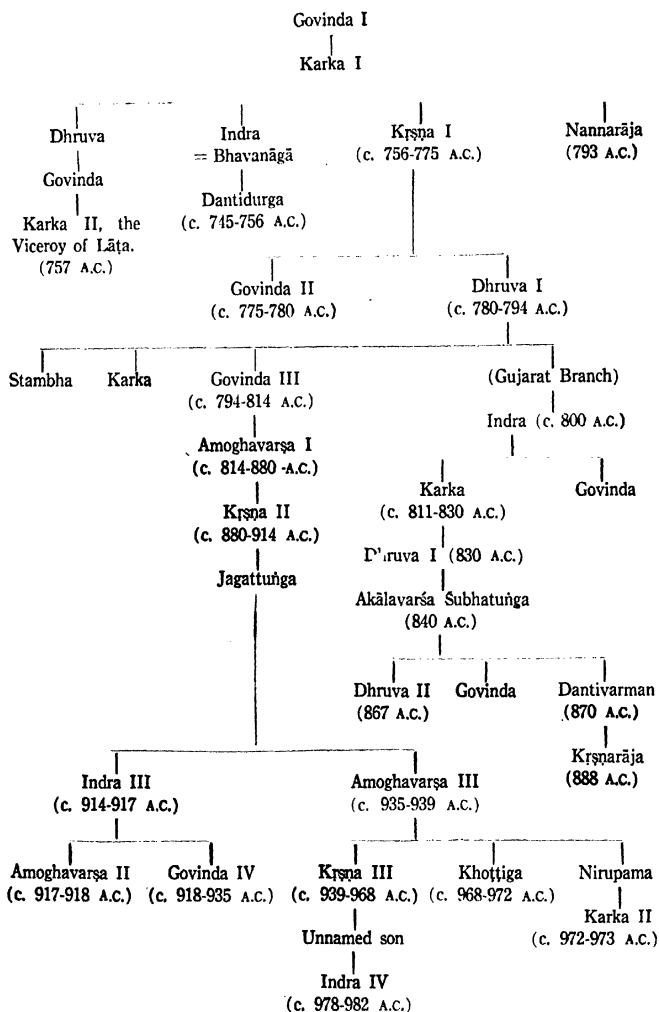
³⁵ *EI*, XXIV, 176-79.

³⁶ *R.* 47.

³⁷ *JDL*, X, 33 n. Dr. FLEET holds the view that Dantidurga was deposed by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I (*BC*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 389-91). Sir R. G. BHANDARKAR rejects the view (*Ibid.*, 195) and is supported by Dr. R. BHANDARKAR (*EI*, VI, 209), Stein KONOW (*Ibid.*, XIII, 277) and SUKTHANKAR (*Ibid.*, XIV, 123). But it is clear from the Baroda Plate (*IA*, XII, 162) that there was a palace revolution.

³⁸ *REV*, *Op. cit.*, 57.

The pedigree of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors is thus reconstructed :—

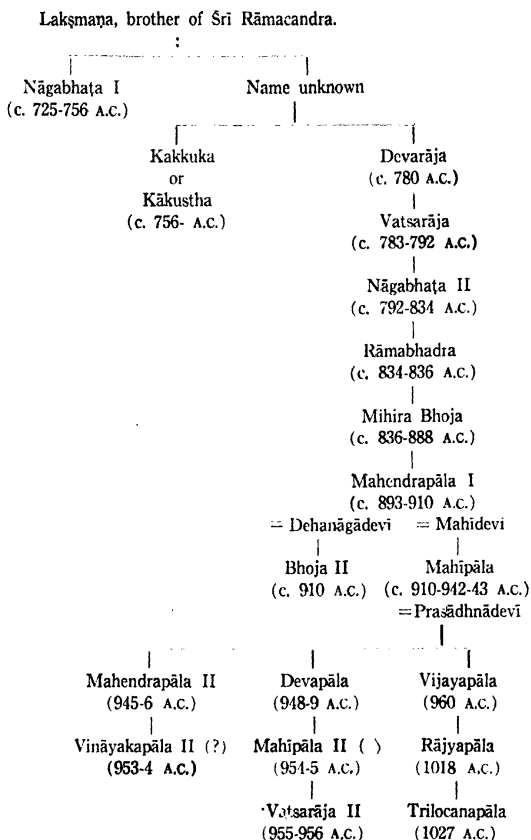


These early Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors, though descended from the Rathikas, referred to in the inscription of Aśoka, were a Kanarese speaking family and came from Latur in the Bedar District of the Hyderabad State³⁹.

³⁹ R., 23,

In Gŭrjaradeśa Nāgabhaṭa I was succeeded by his nephew Kākustha or Kakkuka, and then by Devarāja. Devarāja ruled between c. 760 to c. 780 A.C. He was a contemporary of Śiluka of Haricandra's dynasty. Between the two, there was a long contest for supremacy in Gŭrjaradeśa and at one time, Deva-
rāja, if he is to be identified with Bhaṭṭika Devarāja of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka⁴⁰, got worsted in battle. But Devarāja or his son Vatsarāja by queen Bhuyikādevī, soon recovered ground. Śiluka was dead or was defeated ; his grandson abdicated and took to religious life ; and the young ruler of Mandor, Kakka, was reduced to the position of a vassal⁴¹.

The line of Nāgabhaṭa I can be constructed as follows :—



⁴⁰ Appendix A, I, vs. 19 ; *JDL.*, 28. But the identification is not beyond doubt.

⁴¹ Appendix A, I, vss. 21-24.

Devarāja was succeeded by Vatsarāja who was a great devotee of Śiva. Gūrjaradeśa became a great power under Vatsarāja⁴². He subdued the kings of Gauḍa and Vaṅga, modern Bengal. In this campaign, he was assisted by the feudatory Pratihāra Kakka of Haricandra's dynasty, who then ruled at Mandor⁴³.

Vatsarāja conquered Kanauj, which was in the hands of the Bhaṇḍis, who may have been connected with the maternal uncle of Śrī Harṣa, referred to in the *Harṣa-carita*. 'With strong bows as his companion, he forcibly wrested the empire in battle from the far-famed Bhaṇḍi family, who were difficult to be overcome on account of their rampart made of infuriated elephants⁴⁴.

In 783 A.C. Jināsena in his *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* says :

Indrāyudha protects the north, Śrīvallabha, the son of Kṛṣṇa, protects the South. The East is protected by Vatsarāja, the lord of Avanti ; the West by Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of Saurya⁴⁵.

Five years later, Udyotana Sūri composed his *Kuvalayamālā* in which he explicitly states that Vatsarāja ruled at Jhalor⁴⁶.

In the South, things were moving fast in a manner which made Vatsarāja's ambition difficult of fulfilment.

Dantidurga's successor and uncle Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I, styled Akālavarṣa, was going from strength to strength. One of the first acts of Kṛṣṇa was to suppress his relative Karka II, the viceroy of Lāṭa, who after the death of Dantidurga had declared independence and begun to style himself Paramēśvara⁴⁷. He, then, vanquished Kirtivarman and annexed whatever was left of the Cālukya empire. He also defeated one Rāhappa, whom it is difficult to identify, but it was after this victory and in c. 770 A.C., that Kṛṣṇa adopted the title of Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara. The only possible event known so far in c. 770 A.C. which might have assumed this importance, was the destruction of Valabhī. The tradition, which attributes it to the Arabs, is uncorroborated. By 772 A.C., Kṛṣṇa added the territory now covered by the modern states of Nizam Hyderabad and modern Berars to the empire. His Yuvarāja, Govinda, in c. 777 A.C. vanquished the Eastern Cālukya king of Veṅgi. Koṅkaṇa was annexed ; as usual the irrepressible ruler of Kāñcī was subdued. And it was this Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor who built the Kailāsa temple at Ellora, one of the architectural wonders of the world⁴⁸.

Kṛṣṇa I invaded Lāṭa, but could not extend the little kingdom which Dantidurga had acquired and which had been ruled by Karka II. The river Kim or perhaps the Tapti remained the boundary between the growing empires of Gūrjaradeśa and Karṇāṭaka till c. 827 A.C.

⁴² *JRAS.*, 1907, 1010 ; *Prog. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1906-7, 15-36 ; *EI.* V, 208.

⁴³ Appendix A, I, v.s. 24.

⁴⁴ Appendix B, vs. 7.

⁴⁵ Chap. I, n. 30.

⁴⁶ *BV* II, Pt. I, 87, vs. 21 : परमडभिउडिभंगो पणइयणरोहिणीकलाचंदो । सिरिवच्छरायणामो गर-
हत्या पत्थिवो जइया ॥

⁴⁷ *EI.* XVIII, 238.

⁴⁸ *REU, Op. cit.*, 57.

Govinda II, the eldest son of Kṛṣṇa I, known as Prabhūtavarṣa, succeeded him. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as other kings of the period, ruled by reason of their personal ascendancy and could not build up powerful hierarchs to support the imperial throne. As a result, the wars of succession weakened the power of Ellora every time a powerful monarch died. Dhruva Dhāravarṣa, the younger brother of Govinda II, raised the banner of revolt. Govinda, in this fratricidal war, was assisted by Vatsarāja. Dhruva, however, killed Govinda II and assumed imperial power in about 780 A.C. He was as usual occupied with suppressing his recalcitrant feudatories, which he did very thoroughly. Gaṅgavāḍī was annexed. The Pallava king of Kāñcī had to surrender a large part of his army to the conqueror. Having secured a hold over Dakṣiṇāpatha, he turned his attention to Vatsarāja, his late brother's ally.

But at this stage, the military activities of Dhruva, the emperor of the South, Vatsarāja who had already mastered imperial Kanauj, and Dharmapāla of Bengal, the master of India east of Benares, are confused. It was a triangular contest for all-India suzerainty. Some time after 783 A.C., Vatsarāja invaded Kanauj and defeated its ruler Indrāyudha (c. 779-794 A.C.).

Immediately Dharmapāla of Bengal espoused the cause of Cakrāyudha, possibly the son of Indrāyudha, but was vanquished by Vatsarāja⁴⁹. His Rāṣṭrakūṭa enemies record that he was 'intoxicated with the goddess of sovereignty of Gauḍa that he had acquired with ease'; 'and that his renown reached the end of the earth'⁵⁰.

In about 789 A.C. Dharmapāla rallied his forces and marched to the doab of the Ganges and Jumna to capture Kanauj. Suddenly Dhruva Dhāravarṣa with a large army marched to the north, defeated Dharmapāla, and occupied the doab. "Taking from his enemies the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, charming with their waves, he acquired, at the same time, that suzerainty of which the rivers were a visible sign"⁵¹. The Sanjan plate also records this victory, where Dhruva is described as having 'seized the white umbrella, the sporting lotuses of Lakṣmī of the Gauḍa king as he was fleeing between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā'⁵².

Vatsarāja had to flee to Marwar 'to tread the path of misfortune in the interior of Maru'⁵³.

Dhruva, however, could not gather the fruits of his victory. Possibly

⁴⁹ R., 51, 52, 55, 56; also n. 12.

⁵⁰ I.A. XI, 157, lines 11-13 : हेलास्वीकृतगौडराज्यकमलामतं प्रवेश्याचिरा-
दुर्मार्गमसमध्यमप्रतिबलैर्यो वत्सराजवैलैः ।
गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं छत्रद्वयं केवलं
तस्मान्नाहत तदयशोपि ककुभां प्रान्ते स्थितं तत्क्षणात् ॥

⁵¹ I.A. XII, 159, lines 22, 23 : यो गङ्गायमुने तरङ्गसुभगे गृह्णन्परेभ्यः समम् ।
साक्षाच्चिन्हनिभेन चोत्तमपदं तत्प्राप्तवानैश्वरम् ॥

⁵² Appendix C, vs. 14.

⁵³ n. 50.

troubles in the South needed his attention. But he died in 793-94 A.C., having acquired great military ascendancy in the country but without extending the frontiers of the empire already acquired by his predecessors.

The sudden withdrawal of Dhruva from the North left Vatsarāja to restore the fortune of Gūrjaradeśa and enabled Dharmapāla to march to Kanauj, assume suzerainty and appoint his nominee Cakrāyudha on the tottering throne of the imperial capital. "The mighty one (Dharmapāla) again gave the sovereignty, which he had acquired by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, to the begging Cakrāyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing, just as Bali, in days of yore, had given the sovereignty (of the three worlds) to the begging Viṣṇu (Cakrāyudha) who had descended to the earth as the Dwarf"⁵⁴.

Another record attests to the same feat of Dharmapāla, who is stated to have "installed the illustrious king of Kānyakubja, who was readily accepted by Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling, and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Pāñcāla"⁵⁵. Dharmapāla secured also the allegiance of the kings not only of Madhyadeśa and the Punjab, but of some ruler who must have been placed on the throne of Ujjayinī, when Vatsarāja retreated to Marwar. Vatsarāja himself bowed to the inevitable. But his hold over his homeland Gūrjarabhūmi remained unchallenged⁵⁶.

Since the days of the Yüehis, India had not been invaded by any outside world power. So long cultural unity and social harmony had been maintained and the rule of one king or the other was a matter of little importance. The Indian statesmen and rulers had developed self-sufficiency and were ignorant of the new world conditions which the rise of Islam had brought into existence. The massacre of thousands of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and the abduction of literally hundreds of thousands of women in Sind did not convert the ire of the people into a centralised agency for self-defence. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas unable to visualise the new and real danger fostered friendly relations with the Arabs, possibly as a stand-by against their northern rivals⁵⁷.

At this stage, Vatsarāja, claiming to belong to the Ikṣvāku race, and steeped in the tradition of Śrīmāla and Ujjayinī, had made a bid for the leadership of the North.

⁵⁴ *IA*. XV, 306, vs. 3. जित्वेन्द्रराजप्रभृतीनरातीनुपाजिता येन महोदयश्रीः। दत्ता पुनः सा बलिनार्थ-
यित्रे चक्रायुधायानतिवामनाय ॥

⁵⁵ *EL*. IV, 248, 12. भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रेः कुरुयदुयवनावन्तिगान्धारकोरै-

भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलिप्रणतिपरिणतैः साधुसङ्गीर्यमाणः ।

हृष्यत्पाद्बालवृद्धोद्वृत्तकनकमयस्वामिषेकोदकुम्भो

दत्तः श्रीकन्यकुब्जस्सललितललितभ्रूलतालक्ष्म येन ॥

⁵⁶ n. 50.

⁵⁷ *ELLIOT* I, 4, 5, 21, 23.

Wielding a power weighted with fame
 This lord among valoured Kṣatriyas
 By the purity of his flawless acts
 Inscribed his name on the roll
 Of Ikṣvāku's noble race⁵⁸.

VI

About 792 A.C. Nāgabhaṭa, the son of Vatsarāja, became the ruler of Gūrjaradeśa. His popular name was 'Āma'⁵⁹. His mother, Sundarīdevī, was a princess of the family of Yaśovarman, who is described as of the Maurya family⁶⁰. He was also a devotee of Śiva⁶¹. "He was the Primeval Man born again, as once He was born as Nāgabhaṭa I"⁶². The reference to his being a primeval man shows that when Vatsarāja died the fortunes of Gūrjaradeśa were very low.

But he lost no time in consolidating the position of his homeland. The kings of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga succumbed to his power as moths do unto fire'. Sindhu represents the Arab power in Sind. Āndhras, no doubt, are the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi. Vidarbha and Kalinga are Bihar and Orissa. The words in the praśasti, that these kings were attracted to Nāgabhaṭa as moths are attracted to fire, clearly indicate that these kings allied themselves with Nāgabhaṭa and by the alliance lost their independence. The region round modern Dholpur was also annexed by him to his growing dominions. Gopagiri, or modern Gwalior, was one of the most important frontier towns of Gūrjaradeśa, and was a strong fortress. To the southwest, Moḍhera was also in Gūrjaradeśa. Khetaka Maṇḍala was, however, outside⁶³. Nāgabhaṭa also appears to have brought under control the feudatories of Malwa and north Gujarat, who had taken advantage of the temporary eclipse of Vatsarāja to raise a standard of revolt. Around his homeland of Gūrjaradeśa, he built a wall of allies. Within fifteen years of his coming to the throne, Nāgabhaṭa II placed the imperial fortunes of Gūrjaradeśa on firmer foundations.

Having consolidated his position, Nāgabhaṭa, at the head of his confederated forces, fell upon Dharmapāla and his protege Cakrāyudha, the shadow emperor of Kanauj, and obtained a swift victory over them⁶⁴. It was in this campaign that Bāhukadhavala, the Cālukya feudatory of Saubrāṣṭra, took a leading part⁶⁵. The engagement between the forces of Gūrjaradeśa and Bengal took place at Monghyr ; for in an inscription dated 837 A.C. of Bāuka, the Pratihāra of Mandor, the feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa, it is stated

⁵⁸ Appendix B, vs. 7.

⁵⁹ PCa. 81, XI, 48.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 81, XI, 46.

⁶¹ Ibid., 105, vs. 624 ; EI. XVIII, 87.

⁶² Appendix B, vs. 8.

⁶³ PCa. 84, XI, 40, 99 ; XI. 482 ; 485.

⁶⁴ Appendix B, vs. 9.

⁶⁵ EI. IX, 2. KIELHORN holds that Bāhukadhavala flourished in the reign of Mihira Bhoja and so did SMITH (JRAS. 1909, 266) and CHANDA (*Gauḍa Rāja mālā* 28 : But his great grandson flourished in 893 A.C. : and I agree with BANERJEE and MAJUMDAR (JDL 40) that he was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II.

that his father Kakka gained renown by fighting at Mudgagiri⁶⁶. Śaṅkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince of Catsu, also took part in this war as a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa⁶⁷. The Gwalior praśasti says, "Nāgabhaṭa vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vaṅga, who appeared like a mass of dark dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, and then revealed himself, even as the rising Sun, the sole source of the manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness⁶⁸." The darkness that had set on Gūrjaradeśa during the last years of Vatsarāja was dispelled by this great victory.

Two years after Nāgabhaṭa came to the throne, Govinda III, the son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Dhruva, came to the throne at Ellora. As usual there was a war of succession between him and his elder brother Stambha. feudatories ranging themselves on each side⁶⁹. Govinda III, however, came out successful from the struggle, subjugated the refractory feudatories, defeated the king of Kāñcī in 803 A.C., and then consolidated the empire which his father had left behind him. He also subdued the Veṅgi Cālukyās. The whole of the Deccan, thereafter, came under his sway, and he was free and ready to take the field against Nāgabhaṭa II, by now the unchallenged emperor of the North.

In c. 806-7 A.C., the emperor of the South marched against the emperor of the North. The armies of Karṇāṭaka were led by Indra, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy of Lāṭa. The Baroda plates lay claim to a swift victory of the Karṇāṭaka forces over Nāgabhaṭa. "By him (Indra, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Lāṭa) single-handed, the leader of the lords of the Gūrjaras, who prepared himself to give battle, bravely lifting up his neck, was quickly caused, as if he were a deer, to take to the (distant) regions; and the army of the mahāsāmantas of the region of the South, terrified and not holding together and having their possessions in course of being taken away from them by Śrī Vallabha, through (shewing) respect obtained protection from him"⁷⁰.

But things were not so easy as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa panegyrist would have it. The heroic cavalry of Saurāṣṭra under Bāhukadhavala defeated the army of Karṇāṭaka⁷¹. But the advance led by Govinda himself proceeded east vanquishing the ruler of Citrakūṭa. In the battle that ensued between the two imperial forces, Nāgabhaṭa, who is referred to as the lord of Mālwa, was defeated⁷². The Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor as stated above 'carried away in battle the fair and unshakable fame of Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta'⁷³. 'The Gūrjara out of fear' proudly proclaims the Rāṣṭrakūṭa panegyrist, 'vanished

⁶⁶ Appendix A, I, vs. 24.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* EI. XV, 15.

⁶⁸ Appendix B, vs. 10.

⁶⁹ *R.*, 61, 62.

⁷⁰ I.A. XII, 156. येनैकेन च गुर्जरेश्वरपतिर्योद्धुं समभ्युद्यतः, शौर्यप्रोद्धतकन्धरो मृग इव क्षिप्रं दिशो ग्राहितः । भीतासंहतदक्षिणापथमहासामन्तचक्रं यतो रक्षामाप विरुपुष्य मानविभवं श्रीवल्लभे-नादरात् ॥

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷² EI. IX, 1.

⁷³ Appendix C, vs. 22.

no body knew whither, so that, even in a dream he might not witness a battle'. The conqueror then received the homage of the puppet king Cakrāyudha of Kanauj and his patron Dharmapāla⁷⁴. Dharmapāla's queen Ranādevī was the daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabala of Pathari in Bhopal Agency, Central India. Prabala's father, Karkarāja, who naturally was an ally of the king of Bengal, took part in this encounter⁷⁵. The claim of the Sanjan grant that Govinda III overran the territory of Nāgabhaṭa and proceeded upto the Himālaya mountains appears to be an exaggeration. But there is no doubt that Malwa and parts of Ānarta passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. This event took place between c. 807 and 808 A.C.⁷⁶

The Gūrjara emperor was, however, still unsubdued ; for Karka, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy, was appointed to prevent Nāgabhaṭa from acquiring Malwa, possibly West Malwa ; 'made a doorbolt to protect Mālava'⁷⁷. The king of Gauḍa and Gūrjaradeśa were both biding their time when the powerful emperor of the Deccan would go back to the South and leave the field free for them to settle their disputes.

Govinda III, however, could not tarry in the North any longer. Being the master of India south of the Narmadā and having subdued the two great emperors of the North, Govinda went back. There was as usual trouble in the South. On his return home through Gujarāt, however, he was welcomed by king Śarva or Māraśarva of Śribhavana or modern Sarbhon. The identification of Śribhavana with Sarbhon is a little doubtful, as the capital is described to be at the foot of the Vindhya, unless the kingdom extended right upto the Rajpipla Hills. Govinda spent practically the whole of the rainy season in 808 A.C. at Sarbhon, where Amoghavarṣa, later the emperor of Karmāṭaka, was born⁷⁸. He then proceeded to the South, which was practically up in arms against him, and it took him three years before he could reduce it into submission. He died in c. 814 A.C.

One of the greatest military leaders after Śrī Harṣa, Govinda III carried his successful arms from Cape Comorin to the Himālayas. The empire of Karmāṭaka reached its zenith in his time. His courage, statesmanship and power of organisation appear to be very great. His nephew Karka compares him with Pārtha.

A unique hero
Far famed in the three worlds--
Uprooted monarchs of high descent--
Raised loyal adherents to empires--
Achieving what he willed ;
Of nobility, emulation-worthy,

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vs. 23.

⁷⁵ *IA.* 1911, 239.

⁷⁶ Between the Wani grant of 25th April 807 A.C. and 27th July 808 A.C., is the date of Radhanpur Grant, (KIELHORN'S Southern List No. 64).

⁷⁷ Chap. I, n, 27,

⁷⁸ Appendix C, vss. 26, 27,

He alone was justly styled
The earth's overlord⁷⁹.

He showed great power of organisation when he created Gujarat upto the river Mahi and Malwa into a buffer province with his brother Indra as the viceroy, securing his southern empire against the Gŭrjara emperors of the North.

Throughout, Indra remained loyal to his brother and was partially responsible for the victorious march of Govinda to the North. From c. 812 A.C. his son, Karka, was the viceroy of Gujarat. About 814 A.C., he succeeded after great difficulty in placing the minor emperor Amoghavarṣa, son of Govinda III, on the throne of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, himself becoming the regent. His son Dhruva succeeded to the viceroyalty of Lāṭa, but the actual administration was conducted by Karka's younger brother Govinda⁸⁰.

More than six years between 814 A.C. and 821 A.C. were spent by Karka in restoring the authority of the minor Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. In the meantime, Nāgabhaṭa II, the Gŭrjara emperor, recaptured his power in the north and Karka, therefore, wisely transferred the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital from Ellora to Mānyakheṭa. He had learnt the lessons of having to face the emperors of the North from a capital which was within their reach.

Luck was with Nāgabhaṭa. In 814 A.C., Govinda III died and Karka Suvarṇavarṣa, the viceroy of Gujarat, who became the regent of the minor emperor, was busy consolidating the South. In c. 815 A.C., even Dharmapāla died and no king of the east was left to aspire to an imperial position. By 815 A.C., Nāgabhaṭa had reacquired West Malwa, retrieved the imperial sceptre by overthrowing Cakrāyudha 'whose lowly demeanour was manifest by his dependence on others'⁸¹ and annexing whatever had been left of the imperial domain, transferred his capital to Kanauj⁸². That great city with its situation and associations was the capital of India.

Nāgabhaṭa then directed his attention to the surrounding kingdoms. Gŭrjaradeśa, over which Nāgabhaṭa II presided, was a compact territory ruled by feudatories. As stated above, Saurāṣṭra was ruled by Cālukya Bāhukadhavala, Medapāṭa ruled by Śaṅkaragaṇa, Śākambharī by Guvaka I,⁸³ Gŭrjaratrā by Kakka, the Pratihāra⁸⁴. The Sarasvatī valley and the Abu region, of course, formed part of it.

Nāgabhaṭa, then, extended his sway by first annexing Anarta, Kheṭakapura, Turuṣka⁸⁵ and Malwa. It was about this time that he might have

⁷⁹ *IA*. XII, 160, lines 26, 27. उन्मूलितोत्तुङ्गनरेन्द्रवंशो महानरेन्द्रीकृततुच्छभृत्यः ।

स्वेच्छाविधायी चरितानुकारं चकार यो नाम विधेः क्षितीशः ॥

⁸⁰ *R.*, 79-80.

⁸¹ Appendix B, vs. 9.

⁸² *HR*. I, 181.

⁸³ *EI*. II, 121, 126. आद्यः श्रीगुप्तकाह्यप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोऽभूत्,

श्रीमन्नागावलोकप्रवरनुपसभालब्धवीरप्रतिष्ठः ।

⁸⁴ n. 43.

⁸⁵ Appendix B, vs. 11. For the identification of these places see *JRAS*. 1909, 258.

campaigned in Saurāṣṭra⁸⁶. He also annexed Kīrātā, Vatsa, Matsya. Turuṣka can only mean either Sind, if the alliance with the king of Sind had been broken, or the region of Multan which was under the Arabs. Guvaka or Garuḍarāja, the Cāhamāna of Śākambharī, being his feudatory, perhaps Multan is more likely indicated by Turuṣkas. The extent of Nāgabhaṭa's empire, therefore, stretched from the borders of Multan in the west to Bengal in the east and from the Himālayas in the north to the river Mahī in the south.

Nāgabhaṭa died in v.s. 890 Bhādrapada, Suda 5th, 831 A.C. (August 23rd) after a reign of at least 41 years⁸⁷. When he died, the empire of Gūrjaradeśa was the biggest in India.

VII

Rāmabhadra, the son of Nāgabhaṭa by his empress Iṣaṭādevī, was seated on the throne by his father during the last days of his life. His popular name seems to be Dundaka⁸⁸.

During the two or three years that Rāmabhadra was on the throne, the empire began to crack. Saurāṣṭra was restive. Pratihāra Bāuka of Gūrjaratrā became practically independent⁸⁹. The northern regions got away, and had to be reclaimed in the time of his son under the leadership of Harṣadeva, the Guhilot of Catsu, the son and successor of Śaṅkaragaṇa⁹⁰. Gopagiri was a frontier fortress in charge of Vailabhaṭa, a Brāhmaṇa of Vadnagar⁹¹.

But the imperial power of Gūrjaradeśa received its greatest set-back in the east, where Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, won his great victories. He advanced upto the Vindhya. The Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla refers to Devapāla as the supreme ruler on the earth⁹². The Monghyr copper-plate⁹³ and the pillar inscription of Badal describe him as reducing the whole of northern India to vassalage⁹⁴, but it is clearly an exaggeration.

But there were minor victories. Rāmabhadra's feudatories, whose cavalry was the finest in the country, helped him to subdue the lords of armies who were haughty and cruel⁹⁵.

The Gwalior praśasti gives him praise but reservedly. But the *Prabhā-vaka-carita* has a different story to tell. He was a dissolute man who openly lived with a woman by name Kaṇṭikā and a weak ruler. He spent his time with his mistress and neglected the affairs of the state.

His son Mihira Bhoja, supported by the ministers, killed Rāmabhadra and ascended the throne⁹⁶.

⁸⁶ *PCa.* XI, 107.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* XI, 108, vs. 709.

⁸⁹ *EI.* XII, 12.

⁹² *IA.* XV, 305.

⁹⁴ *EI.* II, 100 ff.

⁹⁶ *PCA.* XI, vs. 734, 109.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* XI, vs. 719, p. 109.

⁸⁹ Appendix A, 1, Vss. 26-31.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* I, 154.

⁹³ *Ibid.* XXI, 254.

⁹⁵ Appendix B, vs. 12.

CHAPTER V

THE ZENITH

MIHIRA BHOJA, THE GREAT

(c. 835 A.C.—c. 888 A.C.)

MIHIRA BHOJA, destined to become the greatest of the Imperial Gūrjaras, was a monarch inferior to none in history either in achievement or character. His personal name was Mihira or Prabhāsa ; for, he was born to the empress Appādevī on account of the propitiatory rites performed in honour of the god Sūrya. Later, he came to be called Bhoja or Mihira Bhoja¹. Like his grandfather, he was a great devotee of the goddess Bhagavatī. Mihira Bhoja has been often confounded with Bhoja the Paramāra, the emperor of Dhārā. No work of any author dealing with him has so far come to us. The fragmentary epigraphic records have been pieced together only recently by the labour of scholars. The different names under which he was referred to—Bhoja, Mihira, Ādivarāha—had made it difficult to identify him till very lately. But there are sufficient materials now available to attempt to recapture the achievements and time of one of the greatest rulers in history.

The accession of Mihira Bhoja must be placed before 836 A.C. He died after 888 A.C. At the date, therefore, of his accession he could not be more than 25 years of age. On account of the weakness of Rāmabhadra the empire of Nāgabhaṭa II had become weak. Outlying parts like Saurāṣṭra had declared independence. Even parts of Gūrjaradeśa had perhaps thrown off allegiance.

The first act of the young emperor was to re-acquire his authority over his homeland.

I

In order to find out the position and power of Gūrjaradeśa under Mihira Bhoja it becomes necessary even at the risk of repetition to work up the records of the princes of the five great ruling clans of Gūrjaradeśa who supported the Pratihāra emperors in authority. These five clans were the Pratihāras, the Cāhamānas, the Cālukyas, the Paramāras and the Guhilaputras, whose descendants later became the rulers of different parts of Gūrjaradeśa.

The Cāhamānas were the earliest known of these families to be associated with the Pratihāras from the time of Haricandra (c. 550 A.C.). The founder of the southern branch of the Cāhamānas was Maheśvaradāma,

¹ Appendix B, vss. 15, 16.

whose descendant Bhartṛvṛddha had followed the fortunes of Nāgabhaṭa I as feudatory to Broach in 756 A.C.² But Broach was absorbed in the empire of Kārṇāṭaka, and the southern Cāhamānas were not heard of till the twelfth century. The northern branch of the Cāhamānas, the founder of which was Vāsudeva, was settled in Jāṅgaladeśa, in and near Gūrjaradeśa. Parts of it later came to be called Sapādalakṣa. Its capital was Śākambhārī, modern Sambhar. It is curious that both Haricandra and Vāsudeva were Brāhmanas. Govindarāja or Garuḍarāja or Guvak I in Vāsudeva's line rose to eminence as a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II. His son Candrarāja II was also a feudatory. His daughter Kāñcanadevī was married to the king of Kanauj, who can be no other than Mihira Bhoja himself³. The scions of this line grew in power but remained loyal to the imperial house. Even so late as 973 A.C. after the empire of Gūrjaradeśa was shaken to its foundation the loyal Cāhamānas received the feeble Cakravartī emperor, Raghu-kula-bhū-cakravartī, with pride⁴.

There were other sub-branches of the northern Cāhamānas. Their members were also feudatories of Mihira Bhoja. The Cāhamāna of Dha-valapura, modern Dholpur, by name Caṇḍamahāseṇa (c. 842 A.C.) was a feudatory of Bhoja. He led the imperial army to the north and extracted tribute from the mlecchas on the banks of the Carmaṇvatī, modern Chambal⁵. Though the feat is attributed to the Cāhamāna, there is no doubt that it was an echo of the emperor's conquest in the north. The Cāhamānas of Pratāpagaḍha were also loyal supporters and continued to remain so even when the emperors declined in power⁶. The later Cāhamānas of Naddūla were descended from Vākpatirāja, the Cāhamāna of Śākambhārī, who ruled in c. 940 A.C.⁷

One of the Tomaras founded Delhi, according to a tradition, in 920-21 A.C. They were also feudatories of Mihira Bhoja ; for, we find one of them in charge of Pṛthūdaka, modern Pehova, in the Karnal district of modern Punjab⁸.

A king of the Mandor branch of the Pratihāras, a descendant of Haricandra, Kakka, gained renown under Nāgabhaṭa II by fighting with the Gaḍas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Of course the inscription as usual ascribes the feat to Kakka⁹, but he could not have reached Bengal except under the lead of his emperor.

In 837 A.C., we have the Jodhpur inscription of his son Bāuka¹⁰. Bāuka's mother is described as a mahārājñī, showing the importance of the family. He was a great warrior and his military exploits are described at

² Chapt. I, n. 75.³ *Ibid.*, n. 85.⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 74.⁵ ZDMG, XL, 38-42. चर्मण्वतीतटद्वयसंस्थितम्लेच्छाधिपप्रदराः ।

ईप्सितरणाः प्रणताः सेवां कुर्वन्ति यस्यानु ॥

⁶ *EI*, XIV, 160.⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 66 ff.⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 242.⁹ Appendix A, 1, vs. 24.¹⁰ Appendix A, 1.

great length. In the next inscription of his step-brother Kakkuka¹¹, whose inscription is dated 861 A.C., reference is made to Gūrjaratrā and other provinces forming part of his dominions. In between the two, there is the Daulatpur plate of Mihira Bhoja himself dated 843 A.C.,¹² which shows that Gūrjaratrā was within his empire. From the two Ghatyālā inscriptions of 857 and 861 A.C. lauding the achievements of Bāuka and Kakkuka, an inference is sometimes drawn that Gūrjaratrā was lost during the time of Rāmabhadra, was reclaimed by Mihira Bhoja in 843 A.C., and again lost in 861 A.C. This inference is clearly unwarranted. The titles of Bāuka and Kakkuka negative any independent sovereignty. The laudatory description given to a king by his own panegyrist does not necessarily imply his independent status. And between 843 A.C. and 861 A.C., Mihira Bhoja was going from strength to strength in the whole of North India and it would not be correct to attribute reverses to the imperial army in the homeland of the emperor himself. The material fact, however, is that the Mandor branch became extinct with Kakkuka and the province of Gūrjaratrā was ruled directly by the emperor. If Kakkuka attempted to raise a standard of revolt, he met with swift punishment.

II

The next clan was that of the Cālukyas, who founded the Third Empire of Gūrjaradeśa. According to the tradition preserved in the historical legends of modern Gujarat, the beginnings of its history were laid during the first half of the eighth century when the land was bleeding from the raids of the Arabs and when Dantidurga the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Nāgabhaṭa I the Pratihāra were laying the foundations of their respective empires in the South and the North.

This tradition revolves round the fortunes of the Cāvḍā (Skt. Cāpa, Cāvoṭaka, Cāpotakaṭa) dynasty of Pañcāsara in North Gujarat, the fall of the city in 696 A.C. and the foundation of Aṇahilavāḍa in 765 A.C. It has three different versions. The bardic version contained in the *Ratnamālā* (c. 1230 A.C.) of Kṛṣṇāji kavi, the Jain version as contained in Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and other *Prabandhas*, and the Brahmanical one¹³.

The *Ratnamālā* recites how Bhūvaḍa or Bhūyaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka of the Solāṅki race has in his court several military leaders of whom the greatest is Mihira, who always lives by the side of his master. The king hears the praise of Gujarat as sung by a poet and sends an army led by Mihira to invade it. Mihira is not successful and ultimately the king himself assumes command. Pañcāsara is invested and captured, Jayaśekhara is slain.

Before his death, Jayaśekhara sends away his wife Rūpasundarī in charge of his brother Sūrapāla, who turns an outlaw. In the forest the queen is

¹¹ Appendix A, 2.

¹² *EI*, V, 211.

¹³ *Dharmāraṇya Māhātmya, Skanda Purāṇa*, (III, 2). The legends are summarised by Śāstrī Vrajlal KALIDAS in *FORBES Rāsa mālā*. (Guj. Edn.), I, 34, n.

delivered of a son. He is named Vanarāja. Bhūyaḍa grows fond of Gujarat but is induced to return to his capital under pressure from his generals¹⁴.

The Jain version has preserved the same details of the fall of Pañcāsara¹⁵. The Brahmanical version furnishes some more details. When seven hundred years had elapsed after Vikrama, Āma, the ruler of Kanauj, drove out the king of Khetakapura, then the capital of Gujarat, and occupied the land. At the time, Dhruvapaṭu, a descendant of the Solar line, ruled over Valabhī. Āma gave one daughter in marriage to the king of Valabhī and another to the king of Lāṭa.

The ruler of Kanauj, who was of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, lived at Gopagiri. He converted the rulers of Valabhī and Broach to Buddhism and gave Gujarat to his daughter in dowry. It was, therefore, annexed to Valabhī.

The Brāhmaṇas indignant at the favours shown to the Bauddhas by this king sought refuge with Jayaśekhara of Pañcāsara. The king of Valabhī, therefore, invited his father-in-law Āma to invade Jayaśekhara, which he did. Jayaśekhara died fighting. The kings of Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha who had supported Jayaśekhara in the war were also defeated, and the conqueror appointed the Cālukyas to govern those provinces. Akṣatā, the queen of Jayaśekhara, was sent to a forest, where the Brāhmaṇas gave her an asylum and predicted a royal future for her son. Merutuṅga's legend, thereafter, takes the characteristic turn. When Vanarāja was lying in his cradle in the forest, Śilaguṇasūri, a Jain Sādhu, noticed marks on him indicating the career of a king. He was then brought up by the Sādhu and after eight years, returned to the mother.

There is a close similarity between the two versions as to how Vanarāja acquired power. Merutuṅga refers to a legend how a king of Kānyakubja married the daughter of a king of Gujarat; how Vanarāja was appointed to collect from Gujarat the marriage cess which the king of Kānyakubja had given to his daughter by way of dowry; how Vanarāja collected the cess and gave the collections to a deputation from Kānyakubja; how he waylaid it and secured the money, which he used for consolidating his power. The Brahmanical version says that when the boy grew up he organised a band of bandits and when the revenue collectors of Bhūbhata, the king of Kanauj, were proceeding to Kanauj with the collections he fell upon them and robbed them of the treasure.

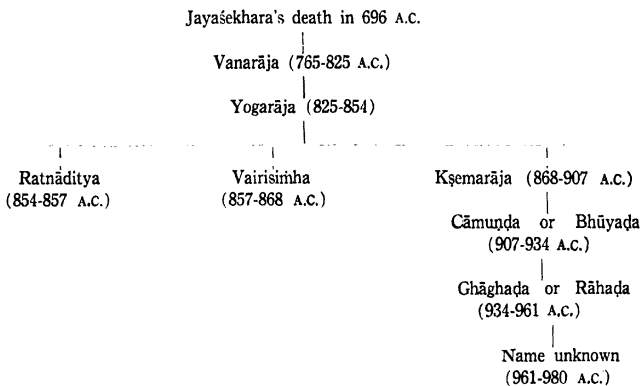
Vanarāja is stated by the *Prabandhas* to have founded Aṇahilavāḍa after a shepherd of the name of Aṇahila who had pointed out a spot where a hare had chased a dog, a familiar legend for the foundation of many cities. Merutuṅga gives 746 A.C. as the date of Vanarāja's installation, while 765 A.C. (V. S. 821 Vaiśākha Śukla 2) is given in *Viçāraśreṇī* as the date

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

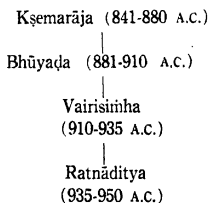
¹⁵ *PC.* 12, 13,

of the foundation of the city. Vanarāja is stated to have lived for one hundred and nine years.

The genealogy of the Cāyḍas as given in the *Vicāraśreṇī* is as follows :



According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇī*¹⁶ the genealogy is different.



The dates as given by the legends relating to the Cāyḍas must, therefore, in the light of available evidence, be left as irreconcilable. The date 700 A.C., for the fall of Pañcāsara is obviously wrong. In c. 700 A.C., Kanauj was ruled by Yaśovarman, the patron of poets Bhavabhūti and Vākpati; Āma and Mihira Bhoja lived long after him. The *Prabandhas* are not unanimous about the parentage of Vanarāja. The *Purātana-prabandha-saṃgraha* makes him the son of a Cāmuṇḍa¹⁷. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* is silent about it. The life of 109 years given by the *Prabandhas* to Vanarāja is legendary. The story that Vanarāja founded Anahilavāḍa is disproved by another legend given by Jinaprabha in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*. According to it, the city was built on the site of a town known as Lakhārāma, which is stated to have been founded in 446 A.C.¹⁸ The earliest reference to the

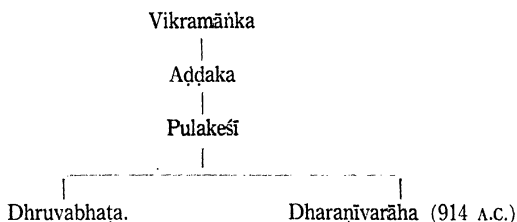
¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 14, 15.

¹⁷ *SJG*, 12. आंबासणवास्तव्यचापोक्तहातीयचंड—चामुंडाभिधौ भ्रातरावभूताम् । ततः केनापि नैमित्तिकेनोक्तम्—चामुंडपत्नीगर्भेण चंडो मरणमगमिष्यदिति...

¹⁸ *SJG*, 51.

Cālukyas having seized the royalty from the Cāvdās is found in the Vadnagar praśasti of 1152 A.C., when legends of the foundation of Pāṭaṇa had been crystallised and begun to be accepted as facts. Vanarāja is, for the first time, referred to in 1116 A.C. in a colophon of an Apabrahṃsa work named *Nemināthacariu* by Haribhadrāsūri, who completed his work in the residence provided by Pṛthvīpāla, a minister of Kumārapāla¹⁹.

In order to discover the historical truth in these legends the facts as found in epigraphic records must be first examined. The princes of the Cāpa family were connected with Gūrjaradeśa between 629-914 A.C. As already stated Brahmagupta (628 A.C.) completed his treatise under Vyāghramukha, the Cāpa king. The capital of the king is doubtfully identified with Bhillamāla²⁰. In c. 735 A.C., the raiding armies of Junayad, the Arab governor of Sindh, destroyed a Cāvotaka king²¹, who is certainly different from the king of Gūrjaradeśa, who ruled at Bhillamāla and who has been identified as belonging to the Pratihāra line of Haricandra. It is clear from what Jinasena wrote in 783 A.C. that Vatsarāja had not acquired either Wadhwan or Saurāṣṭra²². In c. 815 A.C. his son Nāgabhaṭa II conquered Saurāṣṭra²³. In 914 A.C. Dharaṇīvarāha of the Cāpa varṃśa ruled at Wadhwan as a feudatory of Mahīpāla, the great grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II. The Haddala grant of this feudatory traces his descent as follows :



Giving twenty years to a generation it is clear that this Cāpa Varṃśa could not have been established at Wadhwan prior to 832 A.C. This line of feudatories, therefore, was established not by Nāgabhaṭa II but his grandson Mihira Bhoja when he conquered Saurāṣṭra²⁴.

The history of the Cālukyas of Saurāṣṭra throws useful side-light on the reign of Mihira Bhoja. In A.C. 899 Cālukya Avanivarman II, called Yoga, ruled in Saurāṣṭra as a feudatory of the emperor Mahendrapāla, the son of Bhoja. He waged a war against Dharaṇīvarāha, who must be identified with Mahāśāntādhīpati Dharaṇīvarāha of Wadhwan of the Cāpa varṃśa. The grant of his father Balavarman is dated A.C. 893, who may,

¹⁹ *Sanatkumāracaritam*; A section from Haribhadra's *Neminātha cariu* edited by Hermann JACOBI, 152 : अवसरि जणय-बुद्धीए । वणरायनराहिविण । नीउ सन्तु अणहिल्लपाइइ ॥ Cf. *Ibid.*, Introduction, VI.

²⁰ Chap. II, n. 45.

²¹ Chap. I, n. 24.

²² *Ibid.*, n. 30.

²³ Chap. IV, n. 86.

²⁴ Chap. I, n. 95.

therefore, be taken to be a contemporary of Mihira Bhoja, though in the year of the grant the Cālukya chieftain was a feudatory of Mahendrapāla. Balavarman was a powerful prince. He is recorded to have defeated a certain Viṣaḍha and slain Jajjapa and other kings and thus 'freed the earth from the Hūṇa race'. The Hūṇa kings are referred to throughout this period as having fairly powerful kingdoms, which must be placed in the Punjab and Rajputana. The Pāla king Devapāla 'humbled the pride of the Hūṇas'. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja II Amoghavarṣa in A.C. 972 fought with the Hūṇa kings. The Paramāra emperor Muṇja 'took away the life of the Hūṇas' and his younger brother Sindhurāja 'conquered the king of the Hūṇas'. Balavarman could, therefore, have performed these deeds only as a feudatory of Mihira Bhoja.

Balavarman's father was Avanivarman I. The founder of the family's importance, however, was Bāhukadhavala, the father of Avanivarman I, who 'destroyed in battle Dharma (Dharmapāla), conquered kings who were well-known rājādhirājas and parameśvaras, and defeated the army of Karṇāṭaka'. Bāhukadhavala as already referred to was a powerful feudatory of Nāgabhāta II and can be taken as having been appointed or confirmed by him a ruler after the conquest of Saurāṣṭra by Nāgabhāta II in 815 A.C.

The name of Bāhukadhavala's father is not read properly, while his grand-father Kalla is described as Mahāmahīpati, a great king. The founder of the Cālukya dynasty in Saurāṣṭra may, therefore, be taken to be associated with the Pratihāra emperors from the middle of the eighth century at least, that is, almost from the time of the foundation of the First Empire. The interesting part of this record is that during the reign of Mahendrapāla, when the grant of Avanivarman was given in 899 A.C., the feudatory was under the control of one Śrī Dhīka, who was the military viceroy of the emperor for those parts²⁵.

The tradition preserved in the *Skanda Purāṇa* also leads to the conclusion that Mihira Bhoja invaded Saurāṣṭra and married the daughter of its ruler. According to this tradition, a Vanapāla comes to Bhoja and tells him of a woman with the face of a doe roaming in the forests of Girnar²⁶. Bhoja, thereupon, with his army, advances on Girnar, surrounds it, captures the maiden and returns to Kanauj.

Mihira Bhoja, soon after his accession in 835 A.C., consolidated parts of GŪrjaradeśa and the germ of the episode of the fall of Pañcāsara can be traced to this campaign of Mihira Bhoja. This also explains how the word Mihira, which is uncommon and which subsequent generations thought was some corruption of Mir or Mer, finds a place among the list of generals of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 84.

²⁶ *Skanda, Vastrāpatha Kṣetra Māhātmya*, (VII, 2), VI, 22, 23 : वनात्कदाचिदमेत्य वनपालोब्रवीदिदम् । आश्चर्यं अमता देव वने दृष्टं मयाऽधुना ॥ गिरौ विषमभूमागे बहुवृक्षसमाकुले । मृगययुगता नारी मया दृष्टा मृगानना ॥

Bhūyaḍa who invaded Pañcāsara as given by the *Ratnamālā*. The tradition connected with Vanarāja also establishes that Bhūyaḍa used to collect revenues from Gujarat. Vanarāja's feats of robbing the treasury of Bhūyaḍa, the emperor of Kanauj, must, therefore, be placed in the middle of the century. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* itself states that the Cāyḍās were not counted among kings.²⁷ They have left no coins or grants behind them though the dynasty is stated to have ruled for 196 years. Mūlarāja's relationship with the last of the Cāyḍā king is not supported by epigraphic testimony ; nor were the Cāyḍās Gūrjareśvaras, for Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla from c. 815 A.C. at least upto 914 A.C. had the Sarasvatī valley, Wadhwan and Saurāṣṭra as integral parts of their empire.

The traditions and epigraphic evidence about Mūlarāja supplement these materials. We are on firm ground as to the fact that he became the ruler of Aṇahilavāḍa in 942 A.C.²⁸ and that for long he called himself Mahārājādhirāja, a feudatory prince, not an independent sovereign. The epigraphic evidence relating to him consists of four grants—

- (i) 974 A.C. (v.s. 1930), The Baroda grant²⁹.
- (ii) 977 A.C., dated Māgsara vada 9th vs. 1033. Varuṇasarmaka grant given by the Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍa³⁰.
- (iii) 987 A.C. (v.s. 1043), The Kadi grant³¹.
- (iv) 995 A.C. (v.s. 1051), The Balera grant³².

In 974 A.C., Mūlarāja is described as a Mahārājādhirāja, in 977 A.C. as nṛpa ; in 987 A.C., he is thus described : " His paternal and maternal ancestry were pure white like the wings of the royal swan. Like Brahmā he was the resort of the goddess of wealth. Like Viṣṇu he had covered the earth with his valour ; like Tryambaka he had resorted to mountain. Like Indra he was a joy to the learned ; like Kalpavṛkṣa he yielded fruits to those who desired them ; like Meru he occupied a central position ; like the ocean he was a repository of many elements ; like the cloud he had sympathy for all ; like the feet of the goddess his hands were always wet with water taken to give donations. This scion of the Caulukika family, Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Mūlarāja was the son of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Rāji. He had acquired the Sārasvata maṇḍala by the prowess of his own arms "³³. This inscrip-

²⁷ PC, 14. यदा परमण्डलेषु नृपतयः सर्वेषामपि राज्ञां राज्यप्रशंसां कुर्वन्ति तदा गूर्जरदेशे चरतराज्यमि-
त्युपहसन्ति ।

²⁸ IA. 1929, 234-36. BV. (Hindi-Guj.) I. 92.

²⁹ WZKM, V. 300 ; BV. (Hindi-Guj.) (1939) I. 82.

³⁰ BV., (Hindi-Guj.) (1939), I. 80, 81.

³¹ IA. VI. 191-93.

³² JASB, 1898, 168. EI. X, 76.

³³ BV. (Hindi-Guj.) (1939) I, 82, 83 : राजहंस इव विमलोभयपक्षः । कमलयोनिरिव वित-
कमलाश्रयः । विष्णुरिव विक्रमाक्रान्तभूतलः । त्र्यम्बक इव विहिताचलाश्रयः । शतमख इव विबुधानन्दजनकः । कल्प-
वृक्ष इव वाञ्छितार्थफलप्रदः । मेरुरिव सर्वथा मध्यस्थः । तोयधिरिव बहुसत्त्वाश्रयः । जलद इव सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पी ।

tion establishes the fact that Mūlarāja acquired Sārasvata maṇḍala by conquest and that his father was like him a feudatory.

The grant of 977 A.C. compares Mūlarāja with Indra and calls him the son of the descendant of Śrī Vyālakāñci, who belonged to the royal family of Śaulkika. He was married to Mādhavi, the daughter of king Bhoja of the Cāhamāna family³⁴. The family was of the Lunar line and their gotra was Bhāradvāja according to Hemacandra³⁵. It was only in the fourth grant of 995 A.C. about the time when Muñja, the Paramāra, had been vanquished by Tailappa II, the Cālukya of Mānyakheṭa, that he assumed the title indicating independence³⁶.

Indisputably, therefore, the name of Mūlarāja's father was Rāji. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, the ancestors of Mūlarāja's father ruled at Kalyāṇakaṭaka of Kānyakubja country and of them Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyadeva was the first³⁷. He was very famous and had given the whole of Malwa as a grant to the Mahākāleśvara, the guardian god of Ujjayini, and appointed the kings of the Paramāra family its guardians³⁸. In this line was Muñjādeva, whose son was Rāji or Rājā, the father of Mūlarāja. Rāji had two brothers Bija and Daṇḍaka.

The *Kūmārapāla-prabandha* and an older *Prabandha* give the line of Bhūyaḍa as follows : Bhūyaḍa ; his son Candrāditya ; his son Somāditya ; his son Bhaumāditya ; his son Rāji. Muñjāla is not mentioned in the line unless Bhaumāditya is his other name³⁹.

Jayasimhasūri in the *Kumārapāla-carita* gives the ancestry differently. Cālukya founded his kingdom at Madhupadma or Madhūpaghna, possibly modern Mathurā. His family was called Cālukya. In his line was king Simhavikrama. Then, after several generations flourished, runs the passage, the master of the world, the abode of justice, Rāma, like unto Rāma (the Ikṣvāku), the destroyer of the evil-doers. After him came Sahajarāma, who was the lord of three lakhs of horses, who having destroyed the lord of the Śakas, became the one hero of the world. His son, shining with

सुरेन्द्रद्विपद्म सदा दानतोयाद्रिकृतकरः। चौलुकिकान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीमूलराजः। महाराजाधिराजश्री राजसुतः। निजभुजोपार्जितसारस्वतमंडलः।

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 80 : श्रीमान् सुन्दरशीलताप्रविदितः सच्चाहमानान्वयश्रीमद्भोजनराधिपोत्तमसुताश्रीमाधवीकुक्षिभूः।

³⁵ *DV*, VI, 7 : सुगूर्जरं हेतुरनेकभारद्वाजं वरो गीतगुणस्त्रिगङ्गम्।

³⁶ *EI*, X, 78 : परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमूलराजदेव।

³⁷ *PC*, 11 : षड्विंशदग्रामलक्षप्रमिते कन्यकुब्जदेशे कल्याणकट्टकनाम्नि राजधानीनगरे भूयराज इति राजा राज्यं कुर्वन्...

³⁸ *Ibid.* अथ प्रत्युषे तान् यामिकान् सचिवैर्निगृह्यमाणान् निवार्य मालवमण्डले महाकालदेवप्रासादे गत्वा स्वयं देवमाराधयन्तस्त्वै। देवादेशाद्भुजद्वये लभे सति तं मालवदेशं सान्तःपुरं तस्मै देवाय दत्त्वा तद्रक्षाधिकृतान् परमारराजपुत्रान् नियोज्य स्वयमेव तापसीं दीक्षामञ्जीचके।

³⁹ *BV*, (Hindi-Guj.) (1939), I, 85.

sovereignty, was Daṇḍaka or Daḍakka, who conquered the lord of Pipāsā as a lion conquers the elephant. His kingdom was enjoyed by the munificent king Kāñcīkavyāla. Then followed Rāji, the rājā (king), the victor in battles, who went on a pilgrimage to Somanātha in Devapattana and married Līlā, the sister of the king of Gūrjara. His son was Mūlarāja⁴⁰.

The associations of Mūlarāja and his ancestors are undoubtedly with the north and with Kalyāṇakaṭaka (Kānyakubja) country. The legends given in other *Prabandhas* are that Rāji, Bhoja and Daṇḍaka were the sons of Muñjāla of the family of Śrī Bhūyarāja of Kānyakubja ; that while on their way back from pilgrimage to Somanātha they came to Aṇahilapura, where Rāji married Līlādevī, a sister of Sāmantasimha, the last of the Cāvḍa rulers, and that Mūlarāja was the issue of this alliance.

The pedigrees as given may be now compared :—

The Kadi grant.	Varuṇasarmaka grant.	Merutuṅga.	<i>Kumārāpāla-prabandha Ratnamālā</i>	<i>Kumārāpāla-carita</i>
Saulkika	Saulkika			Cālukya Rāma
		Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyadeva Bhūyarāja	Bhūyaḍa Candrāditya Somāditya	Sahajārāma Daḍakka
	Śrī Vyala- kāñci.	— Muñjāla- deva	= Bhaumāditya	= Kāñcīkavyāla
Mahārāja- dhirāja Rāji.	=	Mahārāja- dhirāja Rāji	= Rāji	Rājā Rāji

Mūlarāja 942 A.C. (accession)

Mūlarāja's accession is definitely placed in 942 A.C. He must have been born latest in c. 915 A.C. to be able to establish the kingdom of Pāṭaṇa with his own prowess. In 915 A.C. Mahipāla was the emperor of Gūrjara-deśa and had the Sārasvata maṇḍala, Wadhvan and Saurāṣṭra within his

⁴⁰ I, 24-29 : तदन्वयेऽभवत् क्षुण्णखरवैदृष्णवैभवः । रामो राम इव न्यायसदनं मेदिनीश्वरः ॥ ततः सहजराजोऽभाद् योऽश्वलक्षत्रयेश्वरम् । हत्वा शक्रपतिं पत्तिमिव विश्वेऽयम्भूद् भटः ॥ अदीप्यत ध्रिया श्रीदः श्रीदडकस्तदात्मजः । यः पिपासाख्यराष्ट्रेशं गजं सिंहं इवाजयत् ॥ भूपालः कांचिकव्यालस्तद्राज्यमथ भेजिवान् । यद्दानैरर्थिनोऽप्यासन् दानशौढा सुरद्रुवत् ॥ राजा राजिरथाजिराजिविजयी राजेव रेजे शुचिर्यो यात्रां विरचय्य देवनगरे श्रीसोमनाथोक्तितः । वय्यां गूजैरशासनस्य भगिनीं सामंतसिंहप्रभोर्लीलाख्यां जगदेकवीरजननीं लक्ष्मीमिव व्यूढवान् ॥ तयोः सूनुरनूनश्रीमूलराज इति श्रुतः । अयोनिर्संभवत्वेन सच्चमत्कारकारणम् ॥

empire. Rāji is styled a Mahārajādhirāja or Rājā, and must, therefore, have been a feudatory of Mahīpāla.

Rāji was a descendant of Vyālakāñci or Kañcikavyāla or Muñjāla or Bhaumāditya, who in his turn, was descended from Bhūyaḍa, or Bhūyarāja. He is, therefore, the person whose identity must first be established.

The historical traditions, equated with epigraphic testimony relating to Jayaśekhara and Vanarāja, establish the following facts :—

(1) Āma or Nāgabhaṭa II conquered Khetakamaṇḍala and Saurāṣṭra some time after 815 A.C. The statement that Āma lived at Gopagiri, modern Gwalior, which, in fact, was a frontier town of Gūrjaradeśa, corroborates the identification.

(2) Kalyānakataka in Kānyakubja-deśa is the same as Mahodaya or Kanauj. Gūrjaradeśa itself is placed within Kānyakubja-deśa.

(3) Bhūyadeva or Bhūyaḍa, who succeeded Āma, was a king of Kalyānakataka or Kanauj, is universally accepted.

(4) Mihira Bhoja, the emperor of Gūrjaradeśa ruling at Kanauj, was the son of Rāmabhadra or Danduka and the grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II or Āma. Saurāṣṭra, which he invaded, Sārasvata maṇḍala and Wadhwan were within his empire ; and he had married a daughter of Saurāṣṭra.

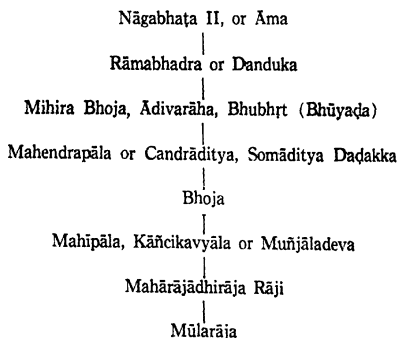
(5) The tradition in the *Kumārapāla-carita*, which appears to be based on some reliable source, puts Sahajarāma as the master of three lakhs of horses, a description which tallies with the description of Mihira Bhoja as possessing a very large cavalry. Sahajarāma,—for this tradition has no Bhūyaḍa—is the son of Rāma, who may be equated with the emperor Rāmabhadra. The Gwalior praśasti also like the *Kumārapāla-carita* compares Rāmabhadra with Rāma, and calls Mihira Bhoja the only person whom Brahmā could think as the equal of Rāma, or Sahajarāma.

(6) Mihira Bhoja's title was Ādivarāha or Bhūbhṛt, the corrupt form of which may be Bhūyaḍa or Bhūbhaṭa. If the original word were Bhūyarāja or deva, as Merutuṅga has it, it would be the Apabhraṁśa of Bhojarāja.

It may, therefore, be taken as established that Āma, Rāma and Bhūyaḍa are the emperors Nāgabhaṭa II, Rāmabhadra and Mihira Bhoja respectively.

If that is so, Daḍakka or Candraditya would be Mahendrapāla and Vyālakāñci, Muñjāla, Bhaumāditya or Kāñcikavyāla would be Mahīpāla. Mahīpāla and Bhaumāditya are synonyms. The victory of Mahīpāla over the forces of the South in 915-16 A.C. referred to in the following chapter would point to the title Kāñcikavyāla as referring to him. SMITH'S surmise that Rāji was the same as emperor Mahīpāla and Mūlarāja was his viceroy⁴¹ would be nearer the mark, if Rāji is taken to be a feudatory of Mahīpāla. Muñjāladeva, therefore, may be taken as a misreading of Mahīpāladeva.

The pedigree of Mūlarāja, may, in the light of the discussion, be thus reconstructed.



The names of Rāji, Bija or Bhoja and Daḍakka as those of brothers may be a faint memory of the name of Rāji, Bhoja and Daḍakka.

That Rāji was not the descendant of Mahipāla in the male line is equally clear. Mahipāla or Kāñcikavyāla was an emperor, a Bhūpāla, son of 'the hero of the world', the grandson of the 'lord of the earth', Rāji is only a rājā or a mahārājā. The former was a Pratihāra, the latter a Cālukya; one an Ikṣvāku of the Solar Line, the other of the Lunar Line. Again, Mūlarāja's panegyrists would not be slow to claim an illustrious ancestry if they could have done so.

Rāji, therefore, was perhaps the daughter's son or a son-in-law of Mahipāla. Rāji's lineage is difficult to trace. The only clues are his being a Cālukya, the persistent tradition that he came from Somanātha and the fact that his son of all other feudatories alone assumed the proud title of Gūrjareśvara after the break-up of the Gūrjara empire in c. 940 A.C.

Cālukya Bāhukadhavala ruled Saurāṣṭra in the beginning of the ninth century. He beat back the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces successfully. As a feudatory he fought in the wars of Nāgabhaṭa II against the king of Bengal. Therefore, of the Cālukyas, whom, according to tradition, Nāgabhaṭa II appointed to govern Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha, Bāhukadhavala was the head.

His descendant Balavarman ruled Saurāṣṭra in Mihira Bhoja's time. The emperor married Bāhukadhavala's daughter or more probably a granddaughter. Mahipāla's or Mahendrapāla's daughter might have been married to one or the other Cālukya descendant of Bāhukadhavala. Rāji's marriage with a daughter of a Gūrjareśvar may be a fact; making her a daughter of an imaginary Cāvdā king of Gūrjaradeśa, a later distortion. If so, the persistent tradition that Rāji came from Devapattana can be explained by his being descended in the male line from Bāhukadhavala.

The next question is how Rāji's son, of all other feudatories of imperial Gūrjaradeśa, adopted the title of Gūrjareśvara and was accepted as such.

Mūlarāja was not the feudatory of the Sarasvatī valley ; nor of Saurāṣṭra, for that would not give him the title of Gŭrjareśvara.

The only possible explanation is that Rāji was the viceroy of the emperor Mahīpāla ruling over the province of Gŭrjaratrā, that is, the Jodhpur region, and that being deprived of his viceroyalty of Gŭrjaratrā, his son drifted south to capture Aṇahilavāḍa and establish himself there.

That the Audīcya Brāhmaṇas from the North settled in North Gujarat at the invitation of Mūlarāja also points to his being connected with the north. The tradition that 18000 families migrated from Bhīllamāla and that the Gŭrjaras came to Khandesh in carts and the fact that the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas of Śrīmāla formed an important section of the population of Aṇahilavāḍa and Sārasvata maṇḍala under Mūlarāja and his successors are sufficient evidence that Mūlarāja and his father were connected with Bhīllamāla, the old capital of Gŭrjaradeśa⁴². A further fact that Mūlarāja and his descendants were followers of the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism and a grant was given by him to the head of a Pāśupata monastery who had migrated from Kānyakubja indicates Rāji's connection with the imperial capital.

Mūlarāja, therefore, may be taken to be a descendant of Mihira Bhoja, the son of emperor Mahīpāla's daughter, and a viceroy of Gŭrjaratrā before 940 A.C. In the upheaval which followed the raid of Kṛṣṇa III in 940 A.C., he lost his viceroyalty and was, perhaps, one of those, who threw in his lot with Siyaka II, the Paramāra viceroy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror, for, after 942 A.C. he had nothing more to do with his old suzerain of Kānyakubja.

III

The next Kṣatriya clan whose fortunes have to be investigated for the contemporary history of Mihira Bhoja's reign is the Paramāra. The Paramāras, who founded the Second Empire of Gŭrjaradeśa, came into prominence after the catastrophic raid of the North by Kṛṣṇa III, the emperor of Kaṇṇāṭaka. The beginnings of the family, however, have to be traced backwards for a century.

Muñja Vākpati II, the second of the Paramāra emperors, who included most parts of Gŭrjaradeśa within his empire, came to the throne of Dhārā in 972 A.C. His father Siyaka II was on the throne in 949 A.C., a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors of Kaṇṇāṭaka. At this time Ujjayinī was in the hands of Mahīpāla, the grandson of Mihira Bhoja. So Siyaka II could not have been the ruler of East Malwa. In the Harsola grant of 949 A.C.,⁴³ Siyaka II does not call himself either ruling at Dhārā or in Malwa. At the same time it is clear from the grant that he was the viceroy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III for a considerable part of modern Gujarat. At the time of the grant he was encamped on the banks of the Mahī river. The grant shows that the ruler of the Khetaka maṇḍala,

⁴² Chap. I, n. 48.

⁴³ *EI*, XIX, 236.

which then was a part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, was his subordinate. He was styled both a mahārājādhirāja pati and mahāmāṇḍalika cūḍāmaṇi, indicating that his position was higher than that of an ordinary feudatory. The village that he gave in grant was situate in Modasa in the modern taluka of Prantij, in the Ahmedabad district. His sway, therefore, extended over Khetaka maṇḍala as well as the modern district of Ahmedabad. Siyaka II bore the same emblem of garuḍa as his masters and had just returned from a successful expedition against Yogarāja, either the Cālukya feudatory of Kanauj in Saurāṣṭra* or the Yogarāja who has been fitted into the Cāvdā line as Vanarāja's son. No epigraphic record of any satrap of Lāṭa appointed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor is found between 888 and 948 A.C. Siyaka II, therefore, may be taken to be a feudatory chief ruling over Lāṭa, Khetaka maṇḍala, West Malwa and the Ahmedabad district in 948 A.C. He was perhaps the viceroy of Lāṭa installed after c. 940 A.C. by Kṛṣṇa III.

Siyaka II himself or his father Vairisimha II or Vajraśasvāmī may, therefore, be taken to have been in alliance with Kṛṣṇa III when he invaded the North in 940 A.C. Between 940 A.C. and 946 A.C. Mahipāla was the overlord of Ujjayinī and Sārasvata maṇḍala⁴⁵. Vairisimha II, therefore, must have been the ruler of West Malwa and Khetaka maṇḍala.

Vākpati I, the father of Vairisimha II, who could be placed between 880 A.C. and 920 A.C., had three qualifications. He became the beloved of the maidens of Avanti ; he took part in invading the Gangetic valley⁴⁶ ; and he was of the family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Harsola inscription of Siyaka II states :

“Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Akālavarṣadeva Pṛthivīvalabha (Indra III) meditated upon the feet of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Amoghavarṣadeva. In the renowned family of that sovereign was born the king Vappaiyarāja (Vākpatirāja I), who was efficient in eradicating crime and who burnt his enemy by the flame of his power. His son and successor was the famous Vairisimha who was succeeded by Siyaka, a brave warrior, invincible to his enemies in battle”.⁴⁷

This shows that Vākpati I was descended from Amoghavarṣa. The two other qualifications of his may have been acquired during the raid of the North by Indra III in 915-16 A.C. His occupation of Avanti is likely to

⁴⁴ n. 25.

⁴⁵ R, 107. EI, XIV, 176-186.

⁴⁶ Appendix D, vs. 10.

⁴⁷ Chap. I, n. 98 : परमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपारमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपारमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रपादानाम् । तस्मिन्कुले कल्मषमोषदक्षे जातः प्रतापमिदुतारिपक्षः । वयैयराजेति नृपः प्रसिद्धस्तस्मात्सुतोऽभूदनु वैरिसिंहः ॥ दत्तारिवितावक्त्रचन्द्रबिम्बकलंकता । नो धौता यस्य कीर्त्याऽपिहरदासावदातया ॥ दुर्वारिपुभूपालरणरैकनायकः । नृपः श्रीसीयकस्तस्मात्कुलकल्पद्रुमोऽभवत् ॥

have been during the time when Indra camped at Avanti, for, in 917 A.C. Mahīpāla, the grandson of Mihira Bhoja, had already reacquired this lost dominion.

The Harsola grant used the words 'tasmin kule' for Vākpati I and his successors. The earlier ancestors are not mentioned, because, perhaps, they were hostile to the suzerain or were too insignificant. If Sīyaka II was even twenty-five in 949 A.C., the birth of Vākpati I cannot be placed later—in fact it may be very much earlier—than 890 A.C. His father Sīyaka I, therefore, must have married a daughter of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁴⁸ in the time of Amoghavarṣa who died in c. 880 A.C. It is difficult to say how this relation came about between the imperial family and a feudatory of Gujarat.

Vākpati I could not possibly have been a descendant of Amoghavarṣa in the male line. If it had been so, it is difficult to understand why Sīyaka II should not have advanced a stronger claim than what 'tasmin kule' implies and why the ancestors of Vākpati, all of whom would belong to the imperial family, should not be mentioned.

Sīyaka I, therefore, must have been an ally of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 910 A.C., when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors of Karmāṭaka regained parts of South Gujarat from the Gūrjaras. From 888 A.C. to 910 A.C. there is no record of any feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the north of the Narmadā. Sīyaka I, therefore, prior to this alliance must have been a feudatory of emperor Mahendrapāla. His father, Vairisinhha I, must also have been a feudatory of Mihira Bhoja. They are more likely to have won their spurs in the war of Lāṭa with Amoghavarṣa referred to later in detail.

Sīyaka I belonged to a Brahma-Kṣatra family of Gūrjaradeśa intimately associated with the Pratihāras, the Cāhamānas, and the Cālukyas. In order to find out the relations which the Paramāra family had with the Pratihāra emperors it is necessary to collect information relating to Sīyaka I, his father Vairisinhha I and his grandfather Kṛṣṇarāja or Upendra, all of whom must be placed in the ninth century.

Kṛṣṇarāja first 'gained the high honour of kingship and performed many Vedic sacrifices and adorned the earth with sacrificial posts of gold'⁴⁹. He claimed his descent from one Dhūmarāja, a name which, perhaps, gave rise to the myth that his family had sprung from fire. But Halāyudha, a contemporary, called his great descendant Muñja a Brahma-Kṣatra. Kṛṣṇarāja acquired a principality which comprised of Vāgaḍa, modern Dungarpur and Banswara. He gave these districts to his younger son Ḍaṃbarasinhha from whom the Paramāras of Banswara were descended⁵⁰.

Kṛṣṇarāja, whose other name was Upendra, was the subject of a poem

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 239-40.

⁴⁹ Appendix D, vs. 7 : NC, XI, 76 : तस्मिन् पृथुप्रतापोऽपि निर्वापितमहीतलः । उपेन्द्र इति सज्जज्ञे राजा सूर्येन्दुसन्निभः ॥

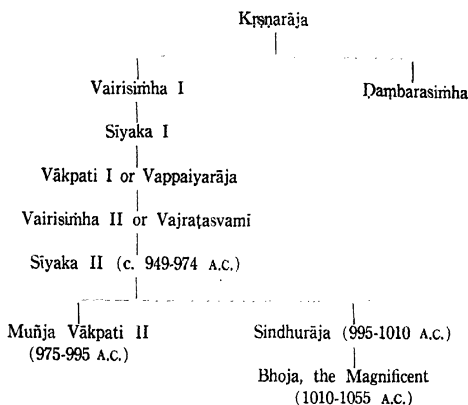
⁵⁰ *El.* XIV, 296.

by a poetess named Sītā. 'His fame was ever moving on and was the cause of Sītā's song'⁵¹.

Upendra's elder son, Vairisimha I, must have received a considerable portion of his father's principality. Possibly, it consisted of what may be termed West Malwa, a territory which included modern Ratlam, Dhara, Dohad, Godhra, parts of Baroda Prant and the Kaira District. Vairisimha I is described as having 'composed a song of praise in his own honour by erecting pillars of victory on the whole earth bounded by the four oceans'⁵².

His son Sīyaka I who, therefore, can be roughly placed between 860-915 A.C. was 'the foremost among conquerors whose foot-stools flashed with the radiant colours emanating from the jewels of the diadem of kings'. He is also stated 'to have submerged a crowd of enemies by the waves of his steel'⁵³.

Upendra or Kṛṣṇarāja's descendants are shown in the following family tree :



That the first three must have been the feudatories of the Imperial Pratihāras follows from several circumstances. The early Paramāras claim to belong to Abu region in Gūrjaradeśa. The adoption of the name of Paramāra; the tracing of the descent from Agnikula instead of from Yadu as did the imperial Rāṣtrakūṭas; the contemporary testimony that Muñja Vākpati II was descended from a family tracing its descent from a Brāhmaṇa; the traditional associations with the Pratihāras and the Cāhamānas; and the epigraphic evidence as also the testimony of Padmagupta in the *Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita*, all point to the Paramāras as belonging to Gūrjaradeśa and being connected with the Rāṣtrakūṭas only by marriage.

⁵¹ NC, XI, 77 : सदागतिप्रवृत्तेन सीतोच्छसितहेतुना । हनूमतेव यशसा यस्याऽल्लभ्यत सागरः ॥

⁵² Appendix D, vs. 8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vs. 9.

Nāgabhaṭa I (c. 727-757 A.C.) and Vatsarāja (783-84 A.C.), the rulers of Gŭrjaradeśa, had their capital at Ujjayinī. In the Radhanpur plates (808 A.C.) Nāgabhaṭa is referred to as the lord of Malwa. But Govinda III took Malwa and placed a feudatory in charge of it⁵⁴. This is supported by the reference that Karkarāja, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, was made a doorbold to protect the king of Malwa against the Gŭrjara i.e. Nāgabhaṭa II⁵⁵. But Nāgabhaṭa recaptured Malwa in c. 815 A.C. From this time upto 915 A.C., when Indra III's army bivouacked in Ujjayanī, no ruler of Malwa is recorded to have opposed the imperial Gŭrjaras or submitted to the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The thirty years war of Lāṭa beginning with 836 A.C., which was waged by its Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings against their suzerain Amoghavarṣa with the assistance of Mihira Bhoja, rules out the possibility of a Mālva loyal to any one but Gŭrjaradeśa.⁵⁶ The Paramāra line of Upendra, therefore, between 815 A.C. and 900 A.C. could not have been ruling over it and at the same time remained the vassals of Karṇāṭaka.

Merutuṅga places the poetess Sītā in the court of Bhoja, the Paramāra⁵⁷. But it is a clear mistake; it must be Bhoja the Pratihāra. Bhūyaḍa, or Mihira Bhoja, is also stated by the same author to have given Malwa to the Paramāras for the service of Mahākāleśvara. After 815 A.C., it would be impossible for Kṛṣṇarāja to carve out a kingdom in the territories of which Vāgaḍa formed part without owing allegiance to the same emperor; nor would it have been possible between 835 A.C. and 915 A.C. for Vairisimha I to erect pillars of victory on the whole earth without being in the imperial army. Sīyaka I, therefore, became the foremost of conquerors also in the declining years of the emperor, and he changed sides to become related to Amoghavarṣa evidently between c. 860 A.C. and 890 A.C. Looking to the domains he held and the fortunes of his master it is more than probable that he had something to do on the side of Bhoja in the Thirty Years' War (836-866 A.C.) of Lāṭa. At some stage, in c. 860 A.C. the fortunes of war turned, and the Paramāra hero married a daughter of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The fact of importance is that the Paramāras were the rulers of parts of modern Gujarat south of Ānartapura and north of the Narmadā and also Vāgaḍa from before 850 A.C.

IV

The Guhilaputras or, as corrupted, Guhilots of Mewar have a still longer history. Guhila, the founder of the family, came from Ānarta and founded a small principality in the upper Sabarmati valley. He was a Brāhmaṇa of Ānandapura or Vadnagar, by birth,⁵⁸ though later records make his descendant Bhartṛpaṭṭa, a "Brahma-Kṣatrānrita" like Paraśu-

⁵⁴ Chap. IV, n. 72.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 77.

⁵⁶ *Post* Section VII.

⁵⁷ *PC.* 43.

⁵⁸ *JASB*, 1909, 167-87; *IA*, XXXIX, 186 ff.

THE FEUDATORIES OF THE FIRST EMPIRE OF GUNJARADESA.

	Gujaratā (Māvat)	Sindhāśa (Aīner region)	(West Malwa)	Vagada (Dungar)	Medāśa (Mewar)	Dvāidāśa (Dhupar)	Lajā (South Gujarat)	Varas	Surāśtra	Vardhamānāpura (Wadhvan)	Prasargh	Jajbhakṣi (Bundelkhandā)	Gorakhpur	Dhāla (Cedi)
	Prasāśar	Cāṭmāśa	Parasāśar	Parasāśar	Gaṇḍāpura	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Kāṭmāśa	Kāṭmāśa
c. 550	Prasāśar	Cāṭmāśa	Parasāśar	Parasāśar	Gaṇḍāpura	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Cāṭmāśa	Kāṭmāśa	Kāṭmāśa
600	Narabha Nagabha c. 614 Tāla Boja Yasodham	c. 620 Simanta Purnatāla Jatāśa (or Cāṭmāśa or, Jayantāśa)	c. 551 Visadeva		c. 550 Gaṇḍāpura (Cāṭmāśa) Bhāṭmāśa Māṭmāśa I		c. 600 Mahāśaradāma Bhāṭmāśa Bhāṭmāśa Bhāṭmāśa	c. 625 Bhāṭmāśa					Lakṣmāśa Rajputra	
700	Śukla Boja Bhāṭmāśa Kāṭmāśa	Verebhāśa I Candrabhāśa I Kāṭmāśa (or Cāṭmāśa) Dandabhāśa I Dandabhāśa I (Cāṭmāśa) Dandabhāśa I (Cāṭmāśa) Dandabhāśa I (Cāṭmāśa)			c. 729 Kāṭmāśa (Boja) Kāṭmāśa Māṭmāśa		c. 728 Bhāṭmāśa II	Kula and Mahāśa Rajendra ?						
800	c. 790 Śukla Nāṭmāśa II c. 834 Kāṭmāśa	Candrabhāśa (Gāṭmāśa) I Candrabhāśa II	Upandāśa (or Kāṭmāśa)		Bhāṭmāśa I Iska Mahāśaradāma			Hāṭmāśa	Bhāṭmāśa			c. 831 Nāṭmāśa (Cāṭmāśa) Vāṭmāśa	Sarabha I Sarabha I	
835	c. 837 Śukla c. 831 Kāṭmāśa	Gāṭmāśa II Candrabhāśa	Vāṭmāśa I Syāśa I	Dandabhāśa	Śukla Bhāṭmāśa II Mahāśaradāma	c. 842		Cāṭmāśa II Bhāṭmāśa	Avantimāśa I	Vāṭmāśa Bhāṭmāśa Pūṭmāśa		Jajbhakṣi (or Cāṭmāśa I) (or Kāṭmāśa)	Candrabhāśa (or Cāṭmāśa I) (or Kāṭmāśa)	c. 832 Kāṭmāśa (or Kāṭmāśa I) (or Kāṭmāśa)
860	c. 885-914 Mahāśaradāma c. 911 Mahāśa	Cāṭmāśa Vāṭmāśa I Vāṭmāśa I (Bhāṭmāśa) Vāṭmāśa I (Vāṭmāśa)	Vāṭmāśa I (Bhāṭmāśa) Vāṭmāśa I (Vāṭmāśa)	Dandabhāśa	Kāṭmāśa III Kāṭmāśa (Bhāṭmāśa) (Bhāṭmāśa)				Avantimāśa I 860	Candrabhāśa Dandabhāśa Vāṭmāśa		Vāṭmāśa (Bhāṭmāśa) (Bhāṭmāśa)	Bhāṭmāśa Sarabha II (or Kāṭmāśa)	Yasodham I Yasodham II
c. 900	c. 902 Mahāśaradāma Śarabha Māṭmāśa	c. 902 Mahāśaradāma Śarabha Māṭmāśa	c. 902 Mahāśaradāma Śarabha Māṭmāśa	Kāṭmāśa (Bhāṭmāśa) (Bhāṭmāśa)	c. 902 Bhāṭmāśa II c. 851 Aṭmāśa				Avantimāśa I 860	Candrabhāśa Dandabhāśa Vāṭmāśa		Vāṭmāśa (Bhāṭmāśa) (Bhāṭmāśa)	Bhāṭmāśa Sarabha II (or Kāṭmāśa)	c. 902 Lakṣmāśa (or Kāṭmāśa)

rāma⁵⁹. Bappa or Kālabhoja (739-753 A.C.) wrested the kingship of Chitor from the Mauryas. Possibly the Arab invasion of Chitor in c. 729 A.C. roused the valour of Bappa, who having driven out the foreigners displaced the effete Mauryas and founded a dynasty. One of his descendants, Śaṅkaragaṇa, was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II ; his son Harṣarāja was a vassal of Mihira Bhoja. As such he took part in the northern campaign of the emperor and presented horses to him. Harṣarāja's son, Guhila II of Catsu also led an army to Bengal to levy a tribute from Devapāla of Bengal at the behests of Mihira Bhoja⁶⁰. His descendants remained loyal to Kanauj at least till 942 A.C.⁶¹ The Guhilots of Nāghrāda were also feudatories.

The ancestors of Kacchapaghātas who later came to rule at Gwalior, Dubkund and Marwar also began their career about this time ; but none of them was of note till the end of the tenth century A.C.⁶²

Gūrjaradeśa, the homeland of the Emperor, was, therefore, a compact territory governed by loyal rulers who formed the imperial hierarchy. These imperial heirarchs were bound together by the fact of having all come out of the region of Abu or Bhīllamāla, their original home, and by their common achievement in having founded the greatness of Gūrjaradeśa under the leadership of the Pratihāras. They were allied by marriage, and they provided the steel-frame which supported the power and greatness of Mihira Bhoja.

Jayaśakti of the Candrātreya (Candella) dynasty, who is stated to have given the name of Jejābhukti, modern Bundelkhand,⁶³ was a petty feudatory of Mihira Bhoja and so was his brother and successor Vijayaśakti. The latter served in an invasion of the South which must have been led by Mihira Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla. And even when his successors grew powerful, till 954 A.C. they declared themselves to be the vassals of the Gūrjara emperors⁶⁴. Jejābhukti was a province of the empire.

The Kalacuris, the descendants of Śaṅkaragaṇa of Ujjayinī (595 A.C.), who claimed to be Haihayas, had been dispossessed of their authority in East Malwa since the days of Nāgabhaṭa I⁶⁵. In some of the northern districts of Central Provinces the Kalacuris of Dāhala (Tripurī) held a precarious sway over some tract under the emperor. A branch of it ruled at Gorakhpur (U.P.) and its representative Guṇāmbhodhideva (c. 875 A.C.) took part in Mihira Bhoja's wars against Devapāla and gained some territory from the emperor by way of gift⁶⁶. The Gorakhpur district continued to be within the empire. The real founder of the house of Kalacuris of

⁵⁹ *EI*, XII, 13 : अन्तःसारतरोऽरिकुंजरकरव्याघातदक्षोऽभवद्वंशस्तद्विपरीत एष गुहिलस्याद्धारभूतो भुवः ॥ ... ब्रह्मक्षत्रान्वितोऽस्मिन्समभवदसमे रामतुल्यो विशल्यः शौर्याढ्यो भर्तृपट्टो रिपुभटविटपिच्छेदकेलीपटीयान् ॥

⁶⁰ *DHNI*, II, 1199.

⁶¹ *EI*, XIV, 176 ff, Pt. III.

⁶² *DHNI*, II, 822.

⁶³ *EI*, I, 218.

⁶⁴ *DHNI*, II, 672.

⁶⁵ *JDL*, V, 29.

⁶⁶ *EI*, VII, 89 : तत्सुनुर्धाम धान्नां निधिरधिकधियां भोजदेवातभूमिः प्रत्यावृत्त्यप्रकारः प्रथितपृथुयुशाः श्रीगुणभोधिदेवः । येनोद्दामैकदर्पद्विपघटितषट्पाटसंसक्तमुक्तासोपानोद्गान्तुरासिप्रकटपृथुयुधेनाहता गौडलक्ष्मीः ॥

Dāhala was Kokkala. Between 895-925 A.C., he raised himself to great power and ultimately, after the death of Mihira Bhoja's son Mahendrapāla, to the position of a king-maker in the struggle between the Gūrjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁶⁷. 'Having conquered the whole earth, he set up two columns of his fame in the quarter of the pitcher-born Agastya₁ (i.e. the South) that well-known Kṛṣṇarāja, and in the quarter of the Kubera (i.e. the North) Bhojadeva, repository of good fortune'⁶⁸. He began his life under Mihira Bhoja.

V

The geographical limits of Gūrjaradeśa may now be determined. Vardhamānapurī, modern Wadhwan, was on the borderland in Gūrjaradeśa upto the end of the eighth century. Sārasvata maṇḍala, the valley of the Sarasvatī, and the Satyapura maṇḍala to its north were certainly parts of it; so was the Abu region round Bhillamāla. Modern Jodhpur state was Gūrjaratrā. This was the old Gūrjaradeśa of Yuan Chwang. To the south of the Sarasvatī, Ānarta and Kheṭaka maṇḍala had lost their distinct geographical entity; since 815 A.C. Medapāṭa, Pratabgarh, Dungarpur Banskara, Dholpur, Śākambharī and Malwa, ruled by the allied Gūrjara clans of Pratihāras, Paramāras including Cāpa, Cāhamānas, Cālukyās and Guhilots, were parts of Gūrjaradeśa united in the social and linguistic unity of the people and in the kinship and loyalty of the ruling hierarchy which supported the imperial Gūrjaras. Two other provinces, Jejābhukti, modern Bundelkhand, Kānyakubja-bhukti, which included Kālāñjara-viṣaya, and Vārāṇasī-viṣaya, were imperial provinces directly governed by the emperor.

Rājaśekhara, the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, who was the teacher of the son and the grandson of Mihira Bhoja, divided Āryāvarta into five divisions *viz.* The Eastern Region, the Southern Region, The Western Region, The Northern Region and Antaravedi, the Central Region.

Madhyadeśa exactly comprised of the Gūrjaradeśa, and the imperial provinces. Benares was its eastern outpost; to the east of it was Aṅga, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha, Nepāla, Puṇḍra, Prāgjyotiṣa, Tāmalīptaka, Malada, Videha, Mallavartaka, Suhma and Brahmoṭṭara⁶⁹.

⁶⁷ DHNI, II, 753-755.

⁶⁸ EI, I, 256: जित्वा कृत्वां येन पृथ्वीमपूर्वकीर्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते स्म । कौम्भोद्भव्यान्दिश्यसी कृष्णराजः कौबेर्याश्च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेवः ॥

⁶⁹ Utkala—Orissa; Mudgara—Perhaps the same as Mudgagiri or Monghyr; Videha—Modern Tirhut; Puṇḍra—Puṇḍradeśa, Puṇḍra and Paṇḍravardhana, same as Gauḍa. This name appears in the *Ait.*; Tāmalīptaka—Tāmrāipti=Tamulak which was formerly on the mouth of the Ganges and is now situated on the western bank of the Rūpanārāyaṇa, formed by the united stream of the Śilai (Śilāvati) and the Dalkisor (Dvārikēśvarī) in the district of Midnapur in Bengal; Malada—A portion of the district of Shahbad; Suhma—It has been identified by Nilakanṭha, the commentator of the *Mbh.* with Rāḍha; Brahmoṭṭara remains unidentified but may be the valley of the Brahmaputrā.

Southern boundary was the Narmadā, or rather Māhiṣmatī. On the Narmadā to its south were Mahārāṣṭra, Māhiṣaka, Āsmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakaiśika, Śūrpāraka, Kāñci, Kerala, Kāvera, Murala, Vānavāsaka, Sindhala, Cōḍa, Daṇḍaka, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Gāṅga, Nāśikya, Koṇkaṇa, Kollagiri, Vallara⁷⁰.

To the west of Madhyadeśa were Devasabha, Surāṣṭra, Daśeraka, Travaṇa, Bhṛgukaccha, Kacchiya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇavāha, Yavana⁷¹.

Beyond Trikūṭaka, was Uttarāpatha and comprised of the countries of Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkaṇa, Hūṇa, Vāṇājuya, Kāmbhoja, Vāhlika, Valhava, Limpāka, Kulūta, Kira, Taṅgaṇa Tuśāra, Turuṣka, Barbara, Harahūva Hūhuka, Suhuḍa, Haṁsamārga, Ramaṭha, Karakaṇṭha and others⁷².

From Abu to Benares, from Pehova to the Narmadā extended the Madhyadeśa or Antarvedi which included Gūrjaraḍeśa, including the Ujjayini region, and the provinces Kānyakubja, Jeṭā and Vārānaśi.

⁷⁰ Māhiṣaka—The country on the Narmadā of which Māhiṣmatī was the capital or Mysore; Āsmaka—Between the Godāvari and Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, and its capital was Pratiṣṭhāna on the north bank of the Godāvari. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra identifies it with Mahārāṣṭra; Kuntala—At the time of the Cālukyas, it was bounded on the north by the Narmadā, on the south by the Tungabhadra, on the west by the Arabian Sea and on the east by the Godāvari and the Eastern Ghats. In later times, the Southern Maratha country was called Kuntala. The later inscriptions call it the Karṇāṭakadeśa. It was also called the Karṇāṭa; Krathakaiśika—Vidarbha; Śūrpāraka—Sopara in the district of Thana, 37 miles north of Bombay and about 4 miles n. w. of Bassien, where one of the edicts of Asoka was published; Kāvera—The valley of the Kāveri; Murala—The country of the Keralas. The Keralas lived to the south of the Kuntalas. Sindhala—Ceylon. The Cōḍa—In Asoka's Inscription at Girnar Cola is mentioned as Cōḍa. This Cōḍa (Cola) is the Coromandel Coast bounded on the north by the river Pennar, on the south Pinākinī river, on the west by Coorg including the country of Tanjore i.e. from Nellore to Pudukottai. Cola was called Draviḍa (*Padma Purāṇa* Chap. 6) and is said to have derived its name from Cola, a king of Kāñchīpura; Daṇḍaka—Same as Daṇḍakāranya, which is same as Mahārāṣṭra including Nagpur; Pāṇḍya—Modern districts of Tinnevely and Madura; Pallava—This country was bordered by the Coromandel Coast; Gāṅga—Name of the country of Rāḍha. As a country it is mentioned in the Karhad Plate Inscription of Kṛṣṇa III, and also in the Harihara and Belur Inscriptions. In the first-named inscription, it is placed between Kāliṅga and Magadha; Nāśikya—Nasik; Kollagiri—Coorg; Vallara—Unidentified.

⁷¹ Devasabha—Unidentified; Daśeraka—West Malwa cf. old name Daskroi Travaṇa—Stravaṇi, west of Marwar; Kacchiya—Cutch; Arbuda—Abu; Brāhmaṇavāha—Brāhmaṇabad in Sindh; Yavana and Śaka are regions beyond Sindh, perhaps Persia.

⁷² Kekaya—A country between the Bias and the Sutlej; Hūṇa-deśa—Country round Sakala or Sialkot in the Punjab, as Mihirakula, a Hūṇa, made it his capital; Vāhlika—Or Bāhlika=Balkh; Kulūta—The Sub-district of Kulṭu in the Kangra district in the upper valley of the Bias river, Punjab, to the N.E. of the Kangra; Kira—Kashmir; Taṅgaṇa—Hataka or Ladak; Tuśāra—Tukhara=Bactria of the Greeks and Takharistan of the Arab geographers; Turuṣka—East Turkestan; Barbara—The country of the Barbarakas; Ramaṭha—Neighbouring country to Kulūta.

VI

Mihira Bhoja came to the throne in 836 A.C. He first steadied the loyalty of Kalañjara maṇḍala. Next he re-acquired some parts of Gŭrjara-deśa which had been lost in his father's time.

Mihira Bhoja was alive to the dangers of a triangular contest between Gŭrjaradeśa, Kaṇṇāṭaka and Gauḍa. He therefore strengthened his hold over Saurāṣṭra and entered into an alliance with Dhruva II, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Lāṭa. With his aid, Dhruva entered upon a determined war to throw off the yoke of Amoghavarṣa. This long and bitter war was a marvellous diplomatic triumph for the young emperor. It left him free to liquidate the troubles in the east and the west for thirty years.

Then he turned to Bengal, where Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, had acquired great power since the death of Nāgabhaṭa II. In the first half of the eighth century the raids of the rulers of Kashmir and Tibet had reduced Bihar and Bengal to a state of chaos. Lama Tārānātha expressed the conditions succinctly. 'No longer any member of the royal family (of the Candras) was a king. In Orissa, in Bengal, and other provinces to the east each Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya constituted himself king of his surroundings. There was no king ruling over the whole country'⁷³. But some time before 765 A.C. Gopāla founded a central authority and consolidated Bengal and Bihar and his son Dharmapāla (c. 769-815 A.C.) straightway launched into a struggle for imperial supremacy going on between Gŭrjaradeśa and Kaṇṇāṭaka. By 807-808 A.C., however, he lost his dominant position and formed an alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but could not retrieve his lost power. His son was Devapāla.

Devapāla (815-854 A.C.) on succeeding the great Dharmapāla of Bengal immediately came into conflict with Nāgabhaṭa II, and was vanquished⁷⁴. But the weak Rāmabhadra could not resist him, and he became for the moment the strongest power in the North.

The three families bidding for imperial supremacy were represented by the following rulers :—

<i>Pālas.</i>	<i>Gŭrjaras.</i>	<i>Rāṣṭrakūṭas.</i>
Devapāla (c. 815-854 A.C.)	Mihira Bhoja (c. 836-890 A.C.)	Amoghavarṣa (c. 814-872 A.C.)
Vigrahapāla (c. 854-857 A.C.)	Mahendrapāla (c. 890-910 A.C.)	Kṛṣṇa II (c. 877-915 A.C.)
Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 867-911 A.C.)	Mahipāla (c. 910-940 A.C.)	

The struggle between Mihira Bhoja and the Pāla kings is evidenced by many records. In the earlier stages of the war he did not fare well.

⁷³ JA, IV. 365.

⁷⁴ Chap. IV, n. 81.

Devapāla is credited with having 'brought low the arrogance of the lord of Gūrjara'⁷⁵. But Mihira Bhoja who was "anxious to conquer the three worlds"⁷⁶ soon obtained a decisive victory and Devapāla had to retire to his homeland⁷⁷.

Upto 864 A.C., Nārāyaṇapāla held on to some parts of Magadha. He seems to have allied himself with Amoghavarṣa, the emperor of Kārṇāṭaka⁷⁸. But between 864 A.C. and 876 A.C. Mihira Bhoja crossed the Gaṇḍaka and the Sona and the whole of Bihar, Tirhuta and North Bengal were annexed to the empire. The Rājashahi district in North Bengal and Śrāvastī Bhukti⁷⁹, modern Gonda and Bahraich districts of U. P., formed parts of his kingdom. The epigraphic record of Nārāyaṇapāla is significantly silent as to any achievement.

By 876 A.C., he had conquered far and wide. By that time he had burnt 'the powerful people of Bengal in the fire of his rage'.⁸⁰ Devapāla was defeated and his son Vighrahapāla became an ascetic. In 897 A.C. Rāmgayā was within the Gūrjara empire⁸¹. The Hazaribag district was also included and so were the parts of Bihar⁸².

The consolidation of the eastern possessions must have taken a long time. The campaign against the Punjab may be placed next after the first defeat of Devapāla. Having acquired parts of the modern Punjab, he set up viceroys, one at Pehova, in the Karnal District of the Punjab⁸³ and Alakhāna as the viceroy in the doab. He also made a defensive alliance with the powerful Lalliya of the Śāhi dynasty of Kabul, who was thankful to have an ally against the encroaching forces of the Arabs⁸⁴.

The Orissa records are very confused but it is possible that its petty kings in their forest surroundings maintained the same friendly relations during Mihira Bhoja's time as they had during the time of Nāgabhaṭa II⁸⁵.

Prāgjyotiṣa, Assam, in c. 829 A.C. was ruled by Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara-Paramamāheśvara Harjaradeva⁸⁶. His son Vanamāla, who reigned till c. 890 A.C., lost his independence and was content to be called only a Mahārājādhirāja⁸⁷. Who his suzerain was, it is difficult to say; but Bengal was too weak to conquer him. His grandson Balavarmā (c. 924 A.C.) again regained his independence and styled himself Paramēśvara⁸⁸.

Between 816-838 A.C. the Tibetan emperor Khri Ide srong btsan ruled from Mongolia in the North to the Ganges. Nepal was included in his

⁷⁵ *EI*, II, 163.

⁷⁶ *EI*, I, 156 : श्रीमदादिवराहेण त्रैलोक्यं विजिगीषुणा ॥

⁷⁷ *EI*, XVIII, 305.

⁷⁸ *EI*, VI, 103 ; *IA*, XII, 218.

⁷⁹ *ASI*, (1925-26), 141. *DHNI*, I, 303.

⁸⁰ *ASI*, (1903-04), 282.

⁸¹ *ASR*, III, 123 ; *MASB*, V, 63-64, No. 3.

⁸² *ASI*, (1920-21), 35 ; *DHNI*, I, 302.

⁸³ *EI*, I, 186.

⁸⁴ Chap. I, 42.

⁸⁵ Appendix B, 8.

⁸⁶ *JBORS*, III, 508.

⁸⁷ *JASB*, IX, 766.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, LXV, 121.

kingdom⁸⁹. A civil war followed his death in 838 A.C. and Nepal became free. At the same time Śrāvastī maṇḍala in the Nepalese terrain was conquered by Mihira Bhoja. In 879 A.C. Rāghavadeva of Nepal completely drove out the Tibetans from Nepal⁹⁰; and it is not unlikely that he was supported by Madhyadeśa.

On the north-western frontier, the Śāhis, the Brāhmaṇa kings of Kabul, called Ratbils by the Muslim chroniclers, held sway, resisting the encroaching Arab step by step. Between 808-818 A.C., however, they had to submit to Caliph al-Ma'mūn, son of Caliph ar-Rashīd⁹¹. But the Śāhi king, perhaps Lalliya, (c. 850-870 A.C.) soon became independent.⁹² He had to offer resistance continuously and was assisted in his task by Alakhāna, the viceroy of Mihira Bhoja, ruling over the northernmost section of Gŭrjaradeśa.⁹³ This section comprised the doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, south of Dharavisar and perhaps the plains of the Punjab further east. Alakhāna is styled Gŭrjarabhuja and Gŭrjarādhipa. But in 870 A.C. Kabul was captured by the Arabs; Lalliya or his successor Sāmanta (870-962 A.C.) transferred his capital to Udbhāṇḍapura (Und) ?⁹⁴ But upto 933 A.C. the Śāhi kings, no doubt with the aid of the powerful emperor of Gŭrjaradeśa, successfully resisted all attempts of foreigners to enter India.

In Kashmir, the power founded by Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa (c. 700-750 A.C.) had declined under his inglorious successors till in c. 850 A.C. Avantivarman of the Utpala dynasty became its ruler to preserve a policy of modest internal consolidation⁹⁵. On his death in 883 A.C., his son Śaṅkaravarman was elevated to the throne after a civil strife with the aid of Pratihāra Ratnavardhana⁹⁶. The intervention of a powerful Pratihāra in the affairs of Kashmir indicates the influence of Gŭrjaradeśa. During the emperor's life-time, however, Śaṅkaravarman continued to be friendly. It was only after his death that he tried to invade the Punjab, 'wholly bent on the conquest of Gŭrjara', as Kalhaṇa, the court historian, states⁹⁷. But he could only get Ṭakka-deśa, the region between the Chenab and the Ravi, from Alakhāna, the Gŭrjara viceroy, who successfully resisted the invasion. Alakhāna gave up Ṭakka-deśa to preserve the country 'like a man who gives up a finger to save the body'⁹⁸ says Kalhaṇa.

The Arab conquest of Sind has been rightly described as 'a mere episode in the history of India which affected only a fringe of that vast country'⁹⁹. The Arab Governors of Sind, according to Al-Biruni and the

⁸⁹ *DHNI*, I, 193.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *KFB*, II, 139-55.

⁹² *RI*, V, vss. 149-55, Stein, Eng. Tran. 205-06.

⁹³ n. 84.

⁹⁴ *DHNI*, I, 74.

⁹⁵ *RI*, IV, 347-348; Steins Eng. Trans. I, 97

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* V, 128 : ततश्चक्रे प्रतीहारः प्रयत्नाद्वन्तवर्धनः । नृपं शंकरवर्माणमवन्तिनृपतेः सुतम् ॥

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* V, 144 : स गूर्जरजयव्यग्रः स्वपराभवशङ्किन् । त्रैगर्तं पृथिवीचंद्रं निन्ये तमसि हास्यताम् ॥

⁹⁸ Chap. I, n. 42.

⁹⁹ *CHI*, III, 10.

Prabandhas raided Valabhī in c. 770 A.C. and destroyed it.¹⁰⁰ Between 813 to 833 A.C. they temporarily occupied Sindān in Cutch.¹⁰¹ But the growing power of Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa I had made them wiser and recognising the kings of Gūrjara as their enemy, they attempted no more raids. Their fanatic zeal was at an end. They began to respect even Hindu temples. Soon the Hindu powers regained control of the province, and in the time of Vatsarāja the Arab power was forced to rest content with a principality in lower Sind governed from al-Manṣūrah, near modern Hyderabad. The Hindus forcibly converted to Islam went back to their ancestral fold. A city named al-Mahfūzah (the guarded) had to be specially built as a place of refuge for Muslims. Balādhurī says, 'in the time of al-Ḥakam ibn Awānah, the people of al-Hind apostatized with the exception of the inhabitants....' He further says 'a place of refuge to which the Moslems might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake, where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Mahfūzah (the guarded), establishing it as a place of refuge for them, where they would be secure and making it a capital'.¹⁰²

Within a year of the accession of Mihira Bhoja, Inran ibn-Mūsa, became the governor of Sind and began a shortlived policy of spreading the Arab power. But the Arabs were driven out of Cutch between 833-842 A.C.¹⁰³ The Caliphs lost the control of Sind a few years later.¹⁰⁴ Multan and Manṣūrah only remained the capitals of two petty Islamic principalities.¹⁰⁵ This was due to the power of Mihira Bhoja, for the Arab travellers unanimously record that the king of Jurz or Gūrjara named Ba'ūrah was the greatest foe of Islam. Ba'ūrah is identified with Pratihāra, but, more likely was the corrupt form of Ādi-Varāha or Barāha by which Bhoja was known. Ba'ūrah, the king of Jurz, was also the king of Sind, which was reconverted to Ārya Dharma. The empire of Mihira Bhoja extended beyond the Indus in Sind, for Masūdī testifies to the Indus running right through one of the cities which was within its boundaries.¹⁰⁶

VII

The emperor Amoghavarṣa I (814-880 A.C.) was unhappy at Mānyakheṭa from the time Mihira Bhoja came to the throne. Bhoja, who was consolidating a vast empire in the north, he knew, would ultimately turn against him. It was about this time that Mānyakheṭa pursued a policy of friendly political relations with the Arab powers. Arab settlements in the south were placed in charge of their own governors and Arab travellers were treated with great consideration. Sulaimān, a merchant, who made several voyages to India and China, in his work written about 857 A.C., observed that

¹⁰⁰ *AI.* I, 192-93.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 232.

¹⁰² *KFB.* II, 228-29.

¹⁰³ *Elliot*, I, 233.

¹⁰⁴ WILLIAM MUIR, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 543-544.

¹⁰⁵ *Elliot* I, 23 ff, also 454. ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 22.

the four great kings of the earth were those of Babylon, China, Greece and Vallabharāja of Mānyakheṭa. Vallabharāja, he stated, was always at war with the kings of Jurz or Gŭrjara.

The first campaign of the war in the south was conducted by the Cāhama feudatory Garuḍarāja of Partabgarh, and parts of Malwa upto the Narmadā were annexed¹⁰⁷.

The main war, however, was waged indirectly through the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Lāṭa. Karka Suvarṇavarṣa was succeeded by his son Dhruva I or Dhāravarṣa in the viceroyalty of Lāṭa in 830 A.C. He recognised the suzerainty of Emperor Amoghavarṣa¹⁰⁸. In c. 836 A.C. Mihira Bhoja came to the throne. There is no record of war between Amoghavarṣa I and Mihira Bhoja between 836 A.C. and 857 A.C. But in c. 836 A.C. Dhruva I declared war against Amoghavarṣa I and died in battle, fighting the forces of Karṇaṭaka. His son Akālavarṣa Subhatuṅga had to struggle hard before he could get back his dominions¹⁰⁹. This he could not do without the assistance of Mihira Bhoja. The forces of Amoghavarṣa I could not be pushed out of Lāṭa by a dethroned chief without powerful aid.

Akālavarṣa was succeeded by his son Dhruva II ; when, it is not possible to say. But in c. 860 A.C., he was in a sorry plight.

On one side the mighty Gŭrjara hosts came ;
On the other Śrī Vallabha had turned a foe ;
Then the kinsmen turned their back ;
The younger brother, even he was untrue.
But before the quake of his dazzling steel
Every one was quiet.¹¹⁰

He emerged victorious somehow and he is found on the throne in 867 A.C. His claim to have repulsed Mihira Bhoja single-handed is absurd,¹¹¹ but it shows that at one stage he had to face the Gŭrjara emperor in Lāṭa, between the Tapti and the Narmadā, and gained some triumph. In an inscription he describes the engagement as follows :—

Like the Sun (Mihira) which though radiant,
And overspreading all quarters
Carried by rushing steeds,
And splendrous though by far,
Pales when heavy clouds overcast the heavens,
Mihira attended by horsemen brave,
Ruling all quarters with his might,
Blessed by the Goddess of wealth,

¹⁰⁷ *Et.* XIV, 176-88.

¹⁰⁸ *IA.* XIV, 197.

¹⁰⁹ *R.* 81.

¹¹⁰ *IA.* XII, 179, vs. 37 : इतोऽभिमुखमापतत्प्रबलगूर्जराणां बलं, इतो विमुखबलभो विकृतिमागत बान्धवाः । इतो जुजुविकुर्वितं शममागतं समस्तं भयादहो स्फुरणमदभुतं निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* vs. 38 : गूर्जरबलमतिबलवत् समुद्यतं बृंहितं च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं लीलया येन ॥

Even he,
 Seeing the might of Dhārāvārṣa
 Was overcast with defeat,
 Sinking into quietude.¹¹²

The Sanjan inscription of Amoghavarṣa I of 871 A.C. tells of no such victory over the Gūrjaras. The thirty years war, therefore, between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa and their imperial master Amoghavarṣa I was really a struggle between Mihira Bhoja and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. After 867 A.C. Dhruva II was succeeded by his brother Dantivarman.¹¹³

Amoghavarṣa died in c. 880 A.C. to be succeeded by Kṛṣṇa II, who sometime thereafter invaded the Gūrjara Empire and penetrated upto Malwa. Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Dantivarman, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Lāṭa, at this time was a vassal of Kṛṣṇa II, for he records how he defeated the enemy at Ujjayinī, while King Vallabha was watching the army movements.¹¹⁴ Kṛṣṇa II also seems to have performed brave deeds in this campaign.¹¹⁵ The Cedi ruler Kokkala also was on his side.¹¹⁶ But the emperor of Gūrjaradeśa drove the invader back across the Narmadā.¹¹⁷ Kṛṣṇa II was defeated and Lāṭa was annexed; the Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭas disappear from history and the next grant in Gūrjaratrā is directly given by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III only in 910 A.C.¹¹⁸ It was during this war that Sīyaka I, the Paramāra, entered into matrimonial alliance with the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, though there is nothing to show that he or his son Vākpati I threw off the allegiance of the Pratihāras till 915 A.C.

The emperor died in c. 888 A.C. When he died the banner of the Ikṣvāku emperor of Gūrjaradeśa flew from the Himalayas to a little beyond the Narmadā and from the east Punjab to Bengal. Kabul, Kashmir and Assam were in friendly alliance. The restless South was wisely quiescent. The powerful Arabs on the northwest frontier had been kept at bay.

North India regained its political unity which it had lost after Śrī Harṣa.

VIII

Some crude coins of Mihira Bhoja known as the Ādivarāha type have been found. They are minted in silver alloy. The obverse contains the legend 'Śrīmadādivarāha', with marks below indicating fire-altar. The reverse shows a man with a boar's head (varāhāvatāra) with the solar wheel. Śrīmadādivarāha coins are referred to in the inscriptions.¹¹⁹

Bhoja was not merely a Cakravartin in the Indian sense of the term.

¹¹² *Ibid.* vs. 41. धारावर्षसमुन्नतिं गुरुतरामालोक्य लक्ष्म्या युतो, धामन्याप्तदिगन्तरोऽपि मिहिरः सद्दंश्यबाहान्वितः । यातः सोऽपिशमं पराभवतमोव्याप्ताननः किं पुनः ॥

¹¹³ *Ibid.* XIII, 67.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 66.

¹¹⁵ *EI.* IX, 24.

¹¹⁶ *IA.* XII, 265.

¹¹⁷ *IA.* XIX, 174-77.

¹¹⁸ *EI.* I, 52.

¹¹⁹ SMITH, *Cat. Coins. Ind. Mus.* (Calcutta), Vol. I, 232, 233, 241, 242; CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. Ind.* 49, Plate VI, nos. 20, 21.

His empire was built on great military power. He reversed the policy of maintaining feudatories in all places ; for, considerable parts of his empire were governed directly from Kanauj. He had four standing armies, which were regularly paid, a rare thing for an Indian conqueror. There is ample testimony to show that one of the garrisons of Bhoja was at Multan and kept the Arab power at bay.

In 851 A.C. Sulaimān, an Arab traveller, visited India and in his work referred to the kingdom of Jurz which he found at war with a kingdom called Rhumi. He states :—"The Balhara has around him several kings with whom he is at war, but whom he excels. Among them is the king of Jurz. This king maintains numerous forces and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of Arab is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no great foe of the Mohammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. (Saurāṣṭra ?) He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his state with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers." "These three states (viz. Tafak, Balhara and Jurz) border on a kingdom called Rhumi, which is at war with that of Jurz. The king of Rhumi is at war with Balhara, as he is with the king of Jurz. His troops are more numerous than those of Balhara, the king of Jurz, or the king of Tafak."¹²⁰

In 916 A.C. Abu Zaid completed the *Silsilatu-l-Tawārikh*, which was begun by Sulaimān, by reading and questioning the travellers to India and China. While giving a picture of the social conditions of India he remarks that "these observations are specially applicable to Kanauj, a large country of the Jurz".¹²¹

Al Mas-udi of Baghdad, visited India more than once, possibly between 900 A.C. and 940 A.C. and died in Egypt in 956 A.C. He states "one of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Ba'urah who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west ; for he is surrounded on all sides by war-like kings." He, further, records that "king of India is Balhara ; the king of Kanauj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Ba'urah. This is a title common to all kings of Kanauj. There is also a city called Ba'urah after its princes, which is now in the territories of Islam, and is one of the dependencies of Multan. . . . This Ba'urah, who is the king of Kanauj, is an enemy of the Balhara, the king of India." Next it is stated that "Ba'urah, the king of Kanauj, has four armies, each consisting of 70,00,000 or 90,00,000. The army of the north fights with the Mussalmans and the prince of Multan, and the army of the south fights with Balhara, the king of Mankir. "The Balhara possesses many war elephants. This country is also called

Kamkar. On one side it is exposed to the attacks of the Jurz, a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army. The military forces of the king of Tapan, who is on friendly terms with Moslems, are less than others mentioned above i.e. Balhara, and Ba'urah, the king of Jurz. Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahma, which is the title of their kings and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of Jurz, and on one side on those of the Balhara with whom he is frequently at war. The Rahman has more troops, elephants, horses, than the Balhara, the king of Jurz, and of Tapan¹²²." Rahma or Ruhmi is perhaps Bengal. Tapan is difficult to identify. Jurz is Gūrjara and Balhara is Vallabharāja, the emperor of Mānyalkheṭa.

IX

Bhoja evidently understood the overwhelming political significance of the organisation of a stable empire. Sulaimān's comparison of Amoghavarṣa with the three great emperors of the world is rhetoric. Amoghavarṣa reigned for sixty-six years. There was no great military achievement to his credit. Gaṅgavādī, Malwa and parts of Khetaka maṇḍala were clearly lost to Bhoja during his time. He was no doubt a patron of literature. He could scarcely control his feudatories during his long reign. When he died his empire was in disorder.

Throughout life, Bhoja manifested his splendid vigour in striking contrast to the hectic energy of Dantidurga and his descendants. He was the greatest general of his age not even excluding Basil I, the contemporary emperor of Byzantium. For over fifty years he held two powerful enemies in check, out-doing the feat of Candragupta Maurya, who had only to deal with the Seleucides in the northwest. He made Kanauj as great, if not greater than Pāṭaliputra. He maintained the great tradition of the Kṣatriya Samrāt. Kanauj, his capital, and Kāśī, which was within a short distance, outdid their past reputation as centres of learning and culture. He lived upto the highest tradition of the Dharmaśāstras, for his inscriptions have the same genuine reverential ring which Yuan Chwang's diary has for Śrī Harṣa.

During this century lived a bold thinker, a great jurist and an astute politician by name Medhātithi, the celebrated commentator of the *Manu-smṛiti*. He quotes Kumārila, who flourished in the seventh or the early eighth century A.C. and has been reverentially quoted by Vijñāneśvara, the commentator on the *Yājñavalkya*, who lived in the eleventh century A.C. This jurist was a resident of North India. He had the problems of the mleccas before him. His political acumen, his robust common-sense and his high independence indicate that as a jurist he was concerned with the problems of an age which was both progressive and expansive in its political, social and religious outlook. His ideas on sovereignty and unification of society and his emphasis on Varṇāśrama-dharma and Āryāvarta as

dynamic elements indicate that he was not a mere scholar but a master-mind who worked in close contact with the efforts of a powerful ruler to consolidate the country and achieve imperial expansion. Dharma as we see, reflected in Medhātithi is ambitious and challenging. The society for which he legislated was not only progressive but conscious of its strength and inspired by high political motive. These would point to Medhātithi's close association with Mihira Bhoja.

In matters political Medhātithi is an apt pupil of Kauṭilya borrowing his phrases and ideas freely. On the question of sovereignty his views are in striking contrast with earlier and later writers on *Dharmaśāstras*. According to him mere fame has no meaning, it is submission of kings to the emperor that matters¹²³. An enemy is an enemy. His difficulties should not be the concern of the conqueror. The conqueror need not wait for him to get ready¹²⁴. A Kṣatriya has no concern with contentment. Unlike the Brāhmaṇa, he must ceaselessly seek what he does not possess.¹²⁵

Medhātithi is unflinchingly aggressive as regards foreign invasion. There should be no compromise with the invader, he says. If the realm is invaded and its people are being massacred, one must die while fighting. If a king does not fight on such an occasion, he falls into a blind darkness¹²⁶. With a treacherous foe he should not be too careful of words. Mere form of his submission is immaterial, the enemy must effectively surrender¹²⁷. Once war is declared, there should be no weakening. There should be no hesitation as to whether a weak enemy should be attacked or not. The king should not try to be consistent¹²⁸. He is a foe or a friend as political exigencies dictate¹²⁹. If necessary he should dismiss or punish his own ministers, even if it be the prime minister himself.¹³⁰ But once he is successful, he should be very wise in destroying his enemies. He should proceed only against those who are really wicked or treacherous. He should uproot the weeds.¹³¹

Then comes the political sage, the pupil of Kauṭilya. When a king attacks his enemy, he really attacks the government—the political machinery. He has no business to destroy the inhabitants of the enemy's realm, if it is possible to spare them¹³². After victory he should consolidate his gains, which after all is not so easy. The learned and the pious must be honoured. Restraints should be removed. The poor and the ailing should be mercifully treated. Sports and rejoicing should be instituted. Justice and sound finance must be restored. Sound methods of government should be introduced. Towards righteous acts there should be a complete policy of non-interference.¹³³

Medhātithi borrows freely from Kauṭilya's opinion of warfare. Twice

¹²³ On *Manu*. VII, 33.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* VII, 90.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* VII, 10.

¹³² *Ibid.* VII, 32.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* VII, 32.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* VII, 92.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* VII, 16.

¹³³ *Ibid.* VII, 56.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* VII, 100.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* VII, 88.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* VII, 11.

he quotes from the *Adhyakṣa Pracāra*, which is a chapter in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Enemy is either born, natural or acquired¹³⁴. War may even be declared on false pretences.¹³⁵ The best time for a king to attack his enemy is when he feels confident of his own strength, when courage rises high, crop is plentiful and the enemy subjects are in difficult circumstances, covetous and capable of being alienated.¹³⁶

Medhātithi gives the elements of a stable executive government. Ambassadors are warned against the lure of women, for that is the way by which secrets go out to enemy¹³⁷. The army portfolio may be with the commander but the king must have the portfolios of 'Finance' and 'Home' in his hands¹³⁸. In making war and peace the final voice must rest with him¹³⁹. Payment of salaries to civil servants and the army must be regular. Irrigations and other works must be carried on to make the people independent of rains.¹⁴⁰ On a small holding the tax should be light ; heavier taxes should be borne by large profits¹⁴¹. Then comes an adage of a shrewd statesman. 'It is neither possible nor desirable to absolutely prohibit drinking, gambling and hunting'¹⁴²."

The political tradition of the age of Mihira Bhoja was both progressive and aggressive. Its outlook was broad-based on three fundamental politico-social conceptions, surprisingly modern in form, which show the advanced stage of political theory and action of those times.

First, the king owes his position to no divine sanction but to the wishes of the people.

Secondly, the king is only an instrument of maintaining Daṇḍa or Sovereignty ;

Thirdly, Sovereignty in the State is based on the Common Law as propounded in the *Dharmaśāstras* which was above the king and inalienable.

Fourthly, Varṇāśramadharmā is a dynamic world-force not a static condition.

The king need not be a Kṣatriya, says Medhātithi. It is mere artha-vāda or glorification to say that the Creator created the king with the elements of divine beings. Kings possess no divinity¹⁴³. An unfair or mean king is destroyed by the passions aroused among his own people or through imperceptible forces¹⁴⁴. Even when a country is conquered the king should summon assemblies of the cities and the country-side and they must decide the manner in which they are to be ruled. A suitable member

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* VII, 155.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* VII, 162.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* VII, 165.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* VII, 63.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* VII, 65.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* VII, 56.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* VII, 129, 130.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* VII, 53 : अतश्च अभ्यासः प्रतिषिध्यते । न तु ईषद् आसेवनं । किञ्च आसेवनमप्युक्तं

पानादीनामशङ्क्य चेति । यतोऽभ्यासप्रतिषेधः ।

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* VII, 3 : प्रजापतिस्तुतिरियम् !; VII, 3-9 : विधेर्यवाद्भोका एते ।

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* VII, 27.

of the old dynasty, who may be selected by the assemblies, should be appointed to rule the conquered country. The people have thus a fundamental right to be ruled in the way they like¹⁴⁵. Daṇḍa in the technical sense is the sovereignty of the State, which provides sanction, regulating and protecting the subjects. It would be Law and Order in the modern sense. It is superior to the king himself¹⁴⁶. It transcends him. It is created even before the king himself. Daṇḍa has no regard for the most powerful ; even they should be brought under its control. The modern principle of civilized government that all are equal in the eyes of law was thus recognised and accepted. It is not the king who administers but Daṇḍa¹⁴⁷. The real sanction behind law is Daṇḍa and not the king. Thus the king becomes no more than the instrument of an ever-arching fabric of juristic sovereignty.

Supreme Daṇḍa cannot be properly administered unless the king undergoes the discipline of study of the scriptures and service of teachers or has inborn humility. Daṇḍa cannot be dispensed with by a mere command. It is not easy to use ; for, its improper use destroys the one who uses it.

A mere command without the sanction of Dharma is not Daṇḍa ; it is valueless.¹⁴⁸ This Daṇḍa has to be regulated in accordance with the law of the *Smṛtis* which Medhātithi propounds as the inalienable common law of Āryāvarta. The people should obey the decrees of the king but the king has no power to control the ordinances of the *Smṛtis*. King's orders cannot offend the *Smṛtis* ; for they provide the sanction for Daṇḍa and even the king derives his title from the common law of the *Smṛtis*¹⁴⁹. Medhātithi is uncompromising in his acceptance of the *Smṛtis* as embodying the common law of the land¹⁵⁰. In contra-distinction to legislators of a subsequent age he declares that no practice or custom contrary to the *Smṛti* texts has binding authority. He ridicules the practice among southerners to marry the daughter of one's maternal uncle. According to him this custom is against the *Smṛtis* and is not binding and authoritative. Custom is not binding as such, but it may be accepted if it is practised by the virtuous and the learned and has therefore the inferential sanction of the *Smṛtis*.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* VII, 201, 202 : एष पौरादीनां अभिप्रायः संक्षेपेण ज्ञात्वा नैतदेवमिच्छति ।

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* VII, 17.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* VII, 18 : न राजा शास्त्रं शास्ति कर्तव्याकर्तव्ययोः विधिनिषेधयोः किं तर्हि दण्ड एव ।

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* VII, 28 : सुमहत्तेजः स दण्डः अकृतात्मभिः शास्त्रेण गुरुपासनया सहजेन वा विनयेन ये अनभिबिनीतास्तैर्दुर्धरो न शक्यते सम्यक् प्रणेतुम् । नैवं मन्तव्यं आज्ञामात्रेण दण्डः प्रणीयते का तस्य दुर्धरता यतो यस्तत्र न जागर्ति प्रयत्नवान् न भवति तं प्रमादिनं सबान्धवं दण्डो हन्ति ।

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* VII, 13 : न तु अग्निहोत्रादिधर्मव्यवस्थायै वर्णाश्रमाणां राजा प्रभवति स्मृत्यन्तरविरोधप्रसङ्गात् अविरोधे चास्मिन् विषये वचनस्यार्थवत्त्वात् ।

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* IX, 112 : न हि एवंविधः कालनियमः क्वचिदपि भ्रूयते । न हि युगभेदेन धर्मव्यवस्थाहेतुदेशनियमो...इत्युक्तम् ।

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* II, 18.

Medhātithi defines (on *Manu* II, 2.6) the source of Dharma as four-fold :—

- (1) The *Vedas* including the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*.
- (2) The *Smṛtis* which are conscientious recollection of the learned and the virtuous. *Manu* belongs to this category and is therefore authoritative. Similarly if any one at any time has the three qualifications of being conscientious, learned and virtuous his word has the same authority as the *Smṛti*.
- (3) The third source is *ācāra*, the customary practice of the learned and the virtuous ; but it is authoritative only when there is no Vedic and *Smṛti* texts for or against it. Against such texts it has no authority.
- (4) The last source is what satisfies the conscience of the learned and the virtuous. This, in modern terms, is Equity.

Medhātithi puts Equity as a source of equal authority with the other three and thus gives prominence to the progressive elements in law. 'Such satisfaction of the learned and the virtuous', says Medhātithi 'is a tremendous force which may find what appears to be Dharma as Adharma and what is Adharma as Dharma. When those learned in the *Vedas* feel that a thing is pure, it is to be deemed as pure'.

Varṇāśramadharmas as propounded by Medhātithi is a very liberal and dynamic gospel. A *Brāhmaṇa* can marry the daughter of a *Kṣatriya* or a *Vaiśya*. It is not necessary that an adopted boy should be of the same caste as the father ; a *Brāhmaṇa* can adopt even a *Kṣatriya* boy¹⁵². *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* have the right to recite *Gāyatrī* mantras though different mantras may be recited by them. Brahminhood is not by birth alone ; *Viśvāmitra* though a *Kṣatriya* obtained Brahminhood in this very life.¹⁵³

A *Sūdra* has the right to offer oblations to the fire though he is denied the *Vaiśvāhika* fire at marriage. The *Smṛti* texts, which take away the rights of the *Sūdra* or lay down prohibitions for him, are to be very strictly interpreted and their scope is not to be enlarged by adding inferences from other texts. The *Smṛtis* which are in favour of the *Sūdras* should be enforced. A *Sūdra* is entitled to perform *Pākayajña*¹⁵⁴ as also to perform religious sacrifice like *Prakarṇa-Śrāddha*, *Aṣṭaka* and *Vaiśvadeva*¹⁵⁵. A *Sūdra* may not be able to pronounce judgment according to the *Smṛtis*, but he can be one of the *sabhyas* in the court of justice. The study of the scriptures may be restricted to the three twice-born castes but performance of scriptural duties and rites can be done by all the members of the four castes. The ceremony of *Niṣkramaṇa* applies to *Sūdras*. Only the *Candālas* are untouchables. This great legislator, thus, raises the *Sūdras*

¹⁵² *Ibid.* IX, 168.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* VII, 42.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* III, 67.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* X, 127 : अनुपनीतत्वात् श्रुतिविहितधर्माभावे स्मृतिविषये सामान्यविहितधर्मा यथोक्तप्रका-

practically to the position of the three twice-born castes.

Medhātithi accords to woman a position which is in refreshing contrast to some of the later commentators. Women can perform all the Samskāras with details except the recital of mantras. A wife is obtained from God, not secured by the husband's own wish. She does not stand on the same footing as cattle or gold picked up in the market¹⁵⁶. A husband, therefore, has no ownership over his wife. Before the wife can be compelled by the husband to serve him he must have the necessary qualifications one of which is a favourable attitude towards her. He condemns unequivocally the dictum of *Manu* that one is to protect oneself even by giving up one's wife or wealth. Medhātithi frankly says that he finds it difficult to follow this dictum¹⁵⁷ and prescribes that even princes should not forsake their wives. He construes the dictum of *Manu* that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve only to be an illustration to show that age is not a material qualification¹⁵⁸. He condemns the dictum of treating all eight forms of so called marriages as legal forms of marriage. According to Medhātithi these are only ways of securing a wife; they are not forms of marriage duly sanctioned. His liberal outlook towards women is nowhere more clearly shown than when he lays down that if a man has intercourse with an unmarried girl and then refuses to marry her, he shall be forced to do so, but if the girl refused to marry him, the girl may be given in marriage to another¹⁵⁹. He condemns the practice of Sati outright. He calls it nothing but suicide and suicide is not permissible even to women¹⁶⁰. He provides that an unmarried sister should be given one-fourth share of the dividing brothers on a partition.

The outlook of the age of Mihira Bhoja is clearly shown in Medhātithi's description of the nature of Varnāśramadharmā with reference to the definition of Āryāvarta. Āryāvarta is not delimited by geographical boundaries. The invasion of the mlecchas has to be taken into account. Āryāvarta according to him is so called, because the mlecchas, though they frequently invade the country, are not able to abide in it. Āryāvarta again is not necessarily within the four corners of India. If any prince conquers foreign territory, subdues the mlecchas, establishes the Vedic religion and reduces the mlecchas to the position of cāṇḍālas, the country would be as

रास्ते नास्य प्रतिषिध्यन्ते । तथा च स्मृत्यन्तरं पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेत अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारोऽस्मिन् इति । यावद् वचनं वाचनिकं नान्यदाक्षेप्तुं अलम् । पार्वणशब्देन च यदमावास्यं श्राद्धमुच्यते तदभ्यनुजानीमः अष्टकापार्वणश्राद्धं वै देवानां विहितत्वात् ।

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* IX, 95 : देवदत्तमिति विन्देत नात्मन इच्छया यथा अन्यद्गोहिरण्यादि आपणमूमौ लभ्यते नेयं भार्या ।

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* VII, 213.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* IX, 94.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* VIII, 367 : अथ कन्यायाः का प्रतिपत्तिः । तस्मा एव देया निवृत्ताभिलाषा चेत् काममन्यत्र प्रतिपाद्या । वरश्चेन्निवृत्ताभिलाषो हठाद् प्राद्वितव्यः ।

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* V, 156 : पुंवत् स्त्रीणामपि प्रतिषिद्ध आत्मत्यागः । अधिकारे ज्ञेयतुल्यता । सत्यामपि प्रवृत्तो न धर्मत्वम् ।

pure as Āryāvarta. No sanctity attaches to Brahmāvarta as such ; it would be mlecchadēśa, if mlecchas subjugated and lived there. Impurity does not attach to the land but to the people¹⁶¹. Any foreign territory freshly conquered where Varṇāśramadharma is enforced is Āryāvarta. Varṇāśramadharma, therefore, is not a static arrangement of society but a dynamic creed of expansion to be enforced and spread. Āryāvarta is not a geographical description but a land where Dharma is enforced and maintained at all cost.

Medhātithi's dynamic outlook was not restricted to theory as is clear from the testimony of the Arab chroniclers and the *Devala Smṛti*. Devala, the author of the *Smṛti* of the name, must be placed between 800 and 900 A.C., when the fortunes of Islam in Sind, as stated before, were on the decline. Devala wrote his *Smṛti* while in Sind.¹⁶² The movement headed by him appears to be largely responsible for the active campaign of reconversion from Islam, which necessitated the Muslims to seek an asylum in al-Mahfūzah, a fortress specially constructed for the purpose. This *Smṛti* is a bold one, an aggressive *Dharmaśāstra* intended to purify 'mlecchanitā'—those converted by the mlecchas¹⁶³. It deals with the problems of the Indians who were kept as slaves and compelled to do unclean things, to kill cows or sweep the leavings of the food taken by the mlecchas or to eat flesh of asses, camels and pigs. It also deals with the problems of those who were compelled to eat or drink forbidden food or drink.¹⁶⁴ With regard to the problem of women abducted or raped by the mlecchas, the *Smṛti* shows a breadth of vision which is difficult to find in any *Dharmaśāstra* of a later age.¹⁶⁵

The problem of purification, according to Devala, is to be found in Sind, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, border-lands, Kāliṅga, Koṅkaṇa and Vaṅga.¹⁶⁶

Even though converted to Islam, the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who had been forced to do forbidden or unclean things can be reclaimed by purification. Devala discards the older view that there is no purification for a man who has lived with the mlecchas for four years. He extends the limit to twenty years and twenty five years.¹⁶⁷

The scheme of purification also is highly elastic. A man of eighty, or a boy below sixteen, or a woman or a sick person has to perform only the purificatory ceremony for half the period. A boy between five and eleven can be reclaimed by purification performed by the father, brother or the guardian.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* II, 22 : आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनः उद्भवन्ति आक्रम्य अपि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छा स्थातारो भवन्ति ।; II, 23 ; यदि कश्चित् क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्याचरणो म्लेच्छान् पराजयेत् चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् म्लेच्छांश्च आर्यावर्ते इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोऽपि स्याद् यज्ञियः । यतो न भूमिः स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गात् हि सा दुष्यति ।

¹⁶² *Devala*, 1 : सिन्धुतीरे सुखासीनं देवलं मुनिसत्तमम् ॥

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 2 : भगवन् म्लेच्छनीता हि कथं शुद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ॥

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 17, 18.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 48.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 16.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 54 ff.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 30, 31.

The forcible abduction of women which followed the Arab invasion of this country naturally shocked the susceptibilities of the Indians who always put a great store on women's honour. But the age was sufficiently progressive to take a sympathetic view of the plight of women forced to promiscuity against their will. *Devala Smṛti* on this question is all the more surprising when it is remembered that political power was pledged to maintain Dharma. A woman carried away by the mlecchas can become pure by abstention from food and sexual intercourse for three nights.¹⁶⁹ Three days' purification would cure the impurity imposed by eating a mleccha's food for one year or more. Even though a woman becomes pregnant by a mleccha, she can be purified by certain ceremonies; and once a child, which is described as a śālya, is born, and she comes in menses, she becomes as pure as gold. The child, however, is to be given over to some one else in order to avoid confusion of blood.¹⁷⁰ If the parent becomes a mleccha the son is not bound to acknowledge the relationship but he can give oblations to his ancestors.¹⁷¹ *Devala Smṛti* deals with these problems with a self-confident and bold outlook when Āryan culture was a living dynamic creed. At the end he says that in the matter of reconversion people should not listen to other sages or authorities.¹⁷²

X

Mihira Bhoja was a liberal patron of art and literature. The trace of most of these men of letters has disappeared, but luckily the name and works of Rājasekhara have come down to us. He was the teacher of the emperor's son Mahendrapāla who came to the throne after him in c. 888 A.C.

He was born in the Yāyāvara family and was known to the following generations as Yāyāvara.¹⁷³ His was a family of poets. His great grandfather was well known for his poetic works and his verses were being plagiarised by other poets. Surānanda, a poet famous at the court of Cedi, Tarala and Kavi Rāja also belonged to the same family.¹⁷⁴ Rājasekhara's father Durduka or Duhika was a prime minister and his mother's name was Śilāvati. Rājasekhara was a Brāhmaṇa, being a guru of the crown prince. But he had married into a Cāhamāna family and his wife Avantisundarī was, therefore, Kṣatriya.¹⁷⁵ She was a lady of great accomplishments; for the

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 39.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 48, 50-52.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* 59, 60.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 72 : प्रायश्चित्तं समाख्यातं यथोक्तं देवलेन तु । इतरेषां ऋषीणां च नान्यथा वाक्यमर्हथ ॥

¹⁷³ Dhanapāla, *Tīlakamañjarī*, 33 : समाधिगुणशालिन्यः प्रसन्नपरिपक्वित्रमाः । यायावरकवेर्वाचो मुनीनामिव वृत्तयः ॥ *Udayasundarī*, VIII, 9 : यायावरः प्राज्ञवरो गुणज्ञेराशंसितः सूरसमाजवयैः नृत्यत्युदारं भणिते रसस्था नदीव यस्योठरसा पदध्रीः ॥

¹⁷⁴ Introduction to *KM.* by the late C. D. DALAL and R. A. SASTRI, X.

¹⁷⁵ *Karpūramañjarī* I, 11 : चाहुआणकुलमोलिमालिआ राअसेहरकइन्दगेहिणी । भत्तुणो कइमवन्दि-मुन्दरी सा पउजयिदुमेअमिच्छइ ॥

poet quotes her opinion thrice in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*¹⁷⁶ and the *Karpūra-maṇjarī* was first acted at her desire. Evidently he held a very high position at the court of Mihira Bhoja's two successors, for he was also styled Kavi-rāja, the highest title to which a poet could aspire.¹⁷⁷

Rājaśekhara began his literary career as a Bāla Kavi. His known works are as follows :—

- (a) *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa*, relating the story of Rāma from Sītā's marriage to the death of Rāvaṇa and their return to Ayodhyā after Sītā's fire-ordeal.
- (b) *Bāla Bhārata*, sometimes called *Pracanda-pāṇḍava*, staged at Mahodaya before Mahipāla, the 'Mahārājādhirāja of Aryāvarta'.
- (c) *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.
- (d) *Bhuvanakośa*, to which he alludes in the 17th chapter of the last work.
- (e) *Haravilāsa*, referred to by Hemacandra.
- (f) *Viddhaśālabaṇjikā*, represented at the request of Yuvarāja-deva of Cedi. The occasion may have been his installation in the joint administration of the government.
- (g) *Karpūramaṇjarī*, produced at the request of his wife, Avantisundarī.

The description of the king-poet by Rājaśekhara gives a picture of the manner in which the imperial Gūrjaras patronised literature. The king-poet is to have a special hall for examining literary works. The hall should have sixteen columns, four doors and eight turrets. There should be a pleasure house attached to it. In the middle an altar studded with jewels should be raised one cubit high supported by four pillars for the royal patron to sit. To the north should be seated the Saṁskṛta poets, students of Vedic learning, logicians, Purāṇikas, experts in the *Smṛtis*, physicians, astrologers and others. To the east should sit poets who specialised in the Prākṛta languages ; behind them actors, dancers, singers, musicians and bards. On the west the poets of the Apabrah̥ṣa language should be seated. Behind them should sit painters, jewel setters, jewellers, gold-smiths, carpenters, black-smiths and others. On the southern side should be seated poets of the Paisāca language ; behind them would be courtezans, rope-dancers, jugglers, wrestlers and soldiers by profession.¹⁷⁸

The king is to examine the works of the poets. He has to preside over their assemblies. In every city there should be an assembly of learned men to examine the works, literary and scientific. The man who stood first should be carried in a procession in a special chariot and crowned.¹⁷⁹

A poet should always be equipped with a box, a board with a chalk to

¹⁷⁶ 20, 46, 57.

¹⁷⁸ KM. 54-55.

¹⁷⁷ *Karpūramaṇjarī* I, 9 : बालकई कइराओ ।

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 55.

write thereon, leaves of the Tādī or the bark of the Bhūrja tree for preparing books as also pen and inkpot. He should also have the leaves of the Tāla tree with iron nails.¹⁸⁰ Evidently books were being written at the time in the southern style by incising the leaves of the Tāla tree and in the northern, by writing with ink on the leaves of the Tāla tree.

A large number of books from which Rājasekhara has taken quotations have remained untraced so far. Rājasekhara was a much travelled poet. The poets in Bengal spoke Saṁskṛta ; in Lāṭa they were fond of Prākṛta ; in Marwar, Ṭakka and Bhadraka they were fond of Apabrahṁśa. The people in Avanti, Pāriyātra and Daśapura used the Bhūtabhāṣā. But the people of Madhyadeśa were well versed in all the languages, where evidently the educational standard was very high.¹⁸¹ A kaviṛāja was expected to be proficient in various languages and not merely Saṁskṛta. A good poet, says Rājasekhara, should pay attention to the languages according to his ability, taste and curiosity, for the same idea expressed through different languages assumes a distinctive beauty in each.¹⁸²

The poet has some very interesting remarks to make about the manner of speech of the people. The Māgadhas and those living to the east of Benares spoke Saṁskṛta well but Prākṛta badly. A Gauḍa could not speak Prākṛta properly ; he should, therefore, either give up the attempt or improve his Prākṛta. The Karnaṭakas recited poetry proudly with a twang at the end of each sentence irrespective of sentiment, style or quality. The Drāviḍas recited prose and poetry both in a musical way. The Lāṭas hated Saṁskṛta but spoke elegant Prākṛta in a beautiful way. The people of Saurāṣṭra and Travaṇa spoke Saṁskṛta but mixed it with Apabrahṁśa to add beauty to their speech. Kashmirians were good poets but their recital sounded like a mouthful of gudūci. The poets of the North were cultured and recited with a nasal twang. But the Pāñcāla poets were the best ; their voice corresponded to their style ; the arrangement of their words was perfect ; their compositions were scientific.¹⁸³

Rājasekhara had a special partiality for Lāṭadeśa. Karpūramañjarī, the heroine of the play, is the daughter of the king of Lāṭadeśa. *Viddhaśalabhañjikā* also refers to the king of the same country. In the *Bālarāmāyana* (Act X, 4849), it is described as the crest of the earth. The elegance of speech and beauty of its ladies are dilated upon by him in his *Kāvya*s.

Women did not lack in education. Evidently there were women poetesses too in Kanauj. 'The culture is connected with the soul and not with the sex' says the poet. The poet had met princesses and poetesses, daughters of prime ministers, courtezans, and wives of court jesters who were well versed in sciences.¹⁸⁴

The whole country, therefore, had a unity of culture. Apabrahṁśa,

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 51.¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* 51.¹⁸² *Ibid.* 48, 49.¹⁸³ *Ibid.* 33, 34.¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 53.

Prākṛta and languages closely allied with Saṁskṛta were being understood by the people. Saṁskṛta was the language of the cultured spoken and understood among the educated throughout the country.

Rājaśekhara was pre-eminently a child of Kanauj or Mahodaya, the capital of Mihira Bhoja. It was to him the centre of the universe. It was a sacred place, the home of the imperial Ikṣvākus. All directions were to be measured from it. The dress worn by the ladies of the capital was adorable. 'Women of other countries' says the poet, 'should study the ways in which the ladies of Mahodaya dressed and bedecked themselves, braided their hair and spoke their words.'¹⁸⁵ The Pāñcālas are described as the ornaments of Āryāvarta, the most cultured region. The two focii of the land were Kanauj and Benares. Its people liked elegant and new literary works. The compositions of its poets were well constructed. Their recitation was sweet like honey.¹⁸⁶ Under Mihira Bhoja and his son and grandson Mahodaya was the metropolis of India, the centre from where radiated power, fashion and culture.

Vandalism has destroyed the monuments of Bhojas' greatness. He was quite unknown to Indian research till a few years ago. But further research will certainly establish, which the research so far has already indicated, that Bhoja was one of the greatest of conquerors and empire builders of any age.

The Imperial Gūrjaras fostered culture and learning in high tradition of Indian emperors. Many of the later *Pūrāṇas* were composed between the eighth and the ninth century. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* provided the background for the outlook of the whole people. The schools of ascetics, tapodhan kulas, and the preceptors were the pillars of sovereignty. Evil was vigorously removed. The emperor was Dharmatrātā, the defender of moral order of life for which Dharma stood. The author of the Gwālior praśasti himself came from a family of learned men who practised austerities, and asserted his own claim to 'inner discrimination, as he has been following the traditions of great munis'.¹⁸⁷

An interesting side-light is thrown by the Pehova inscription¹⁸⁸ on the times of Bhoja. Thirty three or four horse-dealers met at Pehova or Pṛthūdaka in the Karnal district in the modern Punjab on the occasion of a horse-fair and recorded their agreement on a stone inscription. The agreement was to impose certain taxes and tithes upon themselves and their customers on the sale of 'horses, mares, mules and other animals' and distribute the

¹⁸⁵ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, X, 90 : यो मार्गः परिधानकर्मणि गिरां या सूक्तिमुद्राक्रमे भद्रिर्था कबरीचयेषु रचने यद्गुणालोषु च । दृष्टं सुन्दरि कान्यकुब्जललनालोकैरिहान्यच्च यच्छिक्षन्ते सकलासु दिक्षु तरसा तत्कौतुकिन्यः स्त्रियः ॥

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* X, 86 : यत्रार्थे न तथानुरज्यति कविग्रामीशगरीर्गुम्फने, शास्त्रीयासु च लौकिकेषु च यथा भव्यासु नव्योक्तिषु, पाश्चात्तास्तव पश्चिमेन त इमे वामा गिरां भाजनाः, त्वद्वेष्टेरतिथीभवन्तु यमुनां त्रिलोतसे चान्तरा ॥

¹⁸⁷ Appendix B, vs. 27.

¹⁸⁸ *El.* I, 186-88.

proceeds among certain temples, priests and sanctuaries. Among the objects of the gift are three temples in or near Kanauj one of which was built by Nāgara Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandpura in modern Gujarat, famous for their learning and valour, occupied high positions. Nāgara Bhaṭṭa of the Varjara family from Ānandpura, for instance, came to Gopagiri (modern Gwalior) and his son Vailla Bhaṭṭa became first an officer looking after the frontier and then the guardian of the fort. His son Alla as described by his Gwalior inscription occupied the same office after him under Mihira Bhoja. It was a very important office and Alla was appointed to it as the emperor was desirous of conquering the three worlds.

The panegyrist who composed the Gwalior praśasti had given praise, which, after making all allowances for courtly exaggeration, is a unique tribute to the great emperor.

Bālāditya's praśasti is composed on the occasion when Mihira Bhoja erected a temple to Viṣṇu for his queen, and provides the only complete record of this great emperor. The poet's style shows a mastery of the *Kāvya* style and his chaste language indicates the high literary tradition of the imperial court.

Like the imperial Guptas, the imperial Gūrjaras, inspite of their individual predilection, were Bhāgavatas. The praśasti begins with an invocation of Viṣṇu. The temple is also dedicated to him as the enemy of demon-Naraka, god as the destroyer of evil.

The Purāṇic atmosphere pervades the whole poem, the pulsating atmosphere of a living belief. Manu, Ikṣavāku, Kakutstha and Pṛthu provide the background. The primeaval Nārāyaṇa is born twice, as Nāgabhaṭa I and Nāgabhaṭa II. The imperial Gūrjaras were the Ikṣvākus descended from Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Daśaratha.

The Gūrjara emperors were all cultured and had distinctive personality. Nāgabhaṭa I was a warrior. Kakkuka had a keen sense of humour.¹⁸⁹ Vatsarāja was compassionate, generous, of flawless conduct.¹⁹⁰ Nāgabhaṭa II, short and modest, was of resistless energy, virtuous, working for popular benefit, performing many sacrifices. He had ātma vaibhavam, true greatness of soul.¹⁹¹ Rāmabhadra was brave and virtuous, a pure soul, averse to worldliness, a defender of the faith.¹⁹²

But Bhoja was greater still. He was renowned, no doubt, but always unperturbed. An adept in rooting out evil, he was wooed by Lakṣmī, the guardian goddess of sovereignty, yet was untinted by arrogance. He was affectionate towards merit; and so was he a refuge of pleasant and sweet words. He was spotless in character. Even when Brahmā wanted to find another such man, whom else could he find but Śrī Rāmacandra himself?

In order to extend his life beyond measure every one served him, the

¹⁸⁹ Appendix B, vs. 5,

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* vs. 6,

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* vss. 8, 9, 10, 11,

¹⁹² *Ibid.* vs. 12.

ascetics in return for protection, the preceptors out of affection, the servants due to devotion, the multitudinous foes out of policy and all men for their own livelihood. And he was worthy recipient of these offerings like unto the Creator himself.

Honest men of virtuous deeds and intellect undefiled, helped to increase his prosperity. Hostile races were burnt by his anger. The oceans were guarded by his valour. Like unto Kārtikeya, the god of war, of unbounded energy he was. And the world waited upon him to hear its fate from his lips.¹⁹³

Thus did Bālāditya, the poet, standing before king Bhojadeva sing of him. He had the pride of the poet. He hoped that this praśasti would last till the end of Kalpa. He was lucky. It saved his master from oblivion. Through it he will live through the ages.

Mihira Bhoja united with his imperial office the glory of an India saturated with a living Purāṇic tradition.

Mihira Bhoja was thus not a Caesar, not a pontiff either, like the Imperators of Rome and Byzantium. He was thrice sacred ; sacred by being an Ikṣavāku, a family ennobled by the god Viṣṇu being born in it ; sacred by being himself the manifestation of divinity ; sacred by having fused irresistible might into the frame-work of moral order, Dharma.

Āryāvarta was a pyramid. At its apex stood Viṣṇu himself, the protector of happy and well ordered governance. And he had adopted the apt epithet of Ādi Varāha.

THE DECLINE OF THE FIRST AND THE RISE OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

WHEN Mihira Bhoja died in c. 888 A.C. the empire of Gūrjaradeśa was the strongest power in India. Old Amoghavarṣa was still on the throne of Mānyakheṭa. Bengal had disintegrated.

When Devapāla, the last great ruler of Bengal, died in c. 850 A.C. it lost its position as a rival of Gūrjaradeśa. The empire of Dharmapāla was scarcely organised, for the records of these two Pāla emperors have not yet been found outside modern Bengal and Bihar. Devapāla was succeeded by Vighrahapāla I alias Sūrapāla (c. 850-854 A.C.), Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854-908 A.C.) and Rājyapāla (c. 908-940 A.C.). Vighrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla are not credited with any military victory between c. 850 and 908 A.C., and it is clear that Bengal was in the position of a vassal state throughout this period. Assam and Orissa also appear to have become powerful at the cost of Bengal¹.

In c. 888 A.C. Mihira Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla I. He had several aliases like Mahīndrapāla, Mahendrāyudha,² Mahiṣapāla-deva.³ The new ruler, perhaps past middle age, was not slow in extending the empire which his father had built up. The epigraphic testimony shows that the empire in his time besides Antarvedi included the Karnal district in the Punjab,⁴ the Nepalese terrain,⁵ the Gaya district of U.P., the Hazaribagh district of Bihar, the Rajashahi district of Bengal, and Saurāṣṭra. A recent inscription of Mahendrapāla, dated in his fifth year, which has been found at Paharpur in the Rajashahi district, shows that by about 893 A.C. he had annexed parts of Bengal. North Bengal evidently continued to be within the empire till c. 946 A.C., when we first find the grant of Gopala II, the son of Rājyapāla. Parts of Magadha, however, appear to have been re-captured by the Pāla kings after the death of Mahendrapāla.⁶

Taking advantage of the pre-occupations of the Emperor in the East, Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir invaded the north-western frontier of the empire, occupied parts of the Punjab, and restored the Ṭhakkaiya family to its ancestral kingdom.⁷ Rājaśekhara, the poet, was a guru of this emperor, as also of his son Mahipāla.

¹ *The History of Bengal*. Edited by R. C. MAJUMDAR, I, 130.

² *EI*, IX, 2-5.

³ *IA*, XVI, 174.

⁴ *EI*, I, 245-248.

⁵ *IA*, XV, 107.

⁶ *The History of Bengal*, Edited by R. C. MAJUMDAR, I, 131-32. n.

⁷ Chap. I, 42.

Mahendrapāla's personal valour was of a high order as is shown by the names Nirbhayarāja and Nirbhayanarendra applied to him by Rāja-śekhara. Details of his reign, however, are lacking. But it may be assumed that till his death in 910 A.C. the empire of Gūrjaradeśa remained at its zenith.

II

In c. 910 A.C. Mahendrapāla was succeeded by his son Bhoja II by empress Dehanāgā Devī. Mahīpāla, the other son by Mahīdevī or Mahādevī, was a rival claimant to the imperial throne. A war of succession followed. At this stage, Kokkaldeva of Cedi stepped forward in history as the emperor-maker both in the North and in the South⁸ and the prime source of the disruptive elements in the country. He was a feudatory of Mihira Bhoja, but highly ambitious. His eighteen sons and numerous daughters were the tentacles which this octopus twined round every important royal house in the country. His daughter was married to Kṛṣṇa II (880-915 A.C.), the successor of emperor Amoghavarṣa. Jagatuṅga, the son of Kṛṣṇa II and the father of his successor, emperor Indra III, was married to his granddaughter. It is likely that one of his daughters was married to Vighraha-pāla, the king of Bengal; and the recovery of part of Magadha by the kings of Bengal may be attributed to the help and intrigues of Kokkala. Bhoja may have been related to Kokkala by marriage and was supported by him in his bid for the throne. A first class war of succession followed. Gūrjaradeśa, however, stood solid behind Mahīpāla, and so did Harṣadeva, the Candella king, who was one of the most powerful hierarchs of the empire.⁹ The Cāhamānas, the Guhilots, the Paramāras and the Cālukyas were equally loyal. Those close to the throne evidently resented the intervention of a friend of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa enemy in the affairs of the homeland.

Mahīpāla ultimately defeated Bhoja. His accession may be placed in c. 913 A.C. A great confusion has been caused in linking up the epigraphic records relating to this period on account of the various names by which Mahīpāla was designated. But it is now fairly cleared by a recognition that Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla and Herambapāla all indicate Mahīpāla.¹⁰

Taking advantage of the temporary weakening of the central authority during the war of succession, the emperor of Karmāṭaka regained Lāṭa, which had been lost to it since 888 A.C.¹¹ The Kapadvanj grant of Kṛṣṇa II dated 910 A.C. shows that Pracaṇḍa of the Brahmāvaloka house was the military governor of Khetaka maṇḍala. Kaira appears to be the northern outpost of the reacquired Lāṭa maṇḍala.¹² In 915 A.C. Indra III, Kṛṣṇa's successor, granted villages in the Navsari district to Kanarese Brāhmaṇas.¹³ The

⁸ Chap. V, n. 67.

⁹ *EI*, I, 122 : पुनर्येन श्रीक्षितिपालदेवनृपतिः सिंहासनेऽस्थात्सादितारातिशक्तिकीर्तिविभूषणः ॥

¹⁰ *EI*, I, 170-72 ; *JEBRAS*, XXI, 406-07.

¹¹ *IA*, XII, 247 ; *EI*, VII, 29.

¹² *EI*, I, 52.

¹³ *Ibid.* IX, 24.

Paramāra line, perhaps, came to be allied to the emperors of the South about this time.

Indra III came to the throne of imperial Karṇāṭaka in February 915 A.C. He was the son of Jagatuṅga, the son of Emperor Kṛṣṇa II (880-915 A.C.), and had married the grand-daughter of Kokkala of Cedi. Kokkala, who had failed to seat his protegee Bhoja II on the throne of Gūrjaradeśa, was the inveterate enemy of Mahīpāla. He, or may be his son, induced Indra III, immediately he came to the throne, to invade the North.

Indra was an impetuous young man. He had uprooted Meru and conquered Govardhana before he came to throne.¹⁴ This Upendra cannot be identified with Kṛṣṇarāja alias Upendra, the founder of the line of the Paramāras, who cannot also be placed so late as 914 A.C.¹⁵

Indra III assisted by the ruler of Cedi¹⁶ crossed the Narmadā. Lāṭa was already in his possession. Swift like lightning, he passed through Lāṭa into Malwa and captured Ujjayinī. Mahīpāla was taken by surprise. The imperial authority was still weak. The breach between the principal feudatories had not been healed. In consequence the armies of Gūrjaradeśa received a crushing defeat. The conqueror then crossed the Jumna and occupied the capital.¹⁷ The word 'uprooted'—*unmūlita*—used in the inscription is an exaggeration. Mahīpāla, who had withdrawn to the north, was pursued by Narasiṃha. The Karṇāṭaka poet Pampa in his *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* or *Pamṇa-bhārata* describes this pursuit. 'Narasiṃha snatched the goddess of victory from the Gūrjara king who had feebly held her, though desirous of keeping her. Struck as if by thunderbolt, Mahīpāla fled, foodless, restless, unable to rally his forces; then Narasiṃha 'bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges'.¹⁸

The story half told can easily be reconstructed. The occupation of Kanauj was late in 916 A.C. Indra III suddenly died. Mahīpāla was not captured, defeated or reduced to vassalage even according to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. The Karṇāṭaka army withdrew precipitately. In 917 A.C. Amoghavarṣa II ascended the throne of Mānyakheta and sought solace in the arms of fair women.¹⁹ In the same year, Mahīpāla is found

¹⁴ *JBBRAS*, XVIII, 253 : कृतगोवर्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥

¹⁵ Chap. V, Section III; For this identification see R. 100. If this Upendra has to be identified with a Paramāra, he must be Siyaka I, who ruled between c. 895—c. 915 A.C.

¹⁶ Cf. *EI*, II, 306-7 : भोजे बल्लभराजे श्रीहर्षे चित्रकूटभूपाले । शंकरगणे च राजनि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ॥

¹⁷ *EI*, VII, 30, 38 : यन्माद्यद्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राद्वर्णं तीर्णां यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्र-
तिस्यार्धनी । येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥

¹⁸ Lewis Rice's Edition; (Bangalore, 1898) 3; *Karṇāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, Introduction XIV.

¹⁹ *EI*, VII, 34, 35; XIII. 328; *JBBRAS*, XVIII, 250-51.

ruling his empire from Kanauj.²⁰ The Guhila prince Bhaṭṭa is recorded to have defeated the armies of the South²¹ at the behest of his overlord Mahīpāla, and recaptured Dhārā.²² The inference is clear. In a decisive engagement Mahīpāla worsted the army of Karṇāṭaka. Indra was slain. His army withdrew as fast as it advanced. Bhāmāna, a successor of Guṇāmbodhideva, the feudatory of Mihira Bhoja, took part in the campaign. In 914 A.C. Dharaṇivarāha of the Cāpa vāṃśa was his feudatory in Wadhwan; Balavarman in Saurāṣṭra.²³

Mahīpāla soon consolidated his imperial power. In 917 A.C. the empire included the district of Fatehpur. The Benares region also continued to remain under Kanauj at least till 931 A.C.²⁴ The Gwalior region was also under it.²⁵ Al-Masudi states that the Indus was within the domains of Mahīpāla and so was Sind.²⁶

In c. 916 A.C. Al-Masudi, a native of Bagdad, visited India, and has left us memories of the power of Gūrjaradeśa under Mahīpāla. The southern boundary of Gūrjaradeśa, according to this traveller, touched the northern boundary of the empire of Karṇāṭaka. Upper Sind was included in the empire of Kanauj and so did parts of the Punjab. This 'king of Jurz' is also described by him as one of the kings of Sind. Mahīpāla also maintained an army in the north to fight with the ruler of Multan and with the Muslims on the frontier. "The king of Jurz," says Al-Masudi, "is rich in horses, camels and a large army." He is also stated to be at war with the king of Bengal. It is difficult to say whether Al-Masudi visited Kanauj before the raid of Indra III.

Mahīpāla then followed up these victories by an orthodox digvijaya. Rājaśekhara, the poet laureate of Mahīpāla, has preserved for us an eulogistic record of the conquests of this 'pearl-jewel of Raghu's race'. His play *Bāla-bhārata* or *Pracaṇḍa-pāṇḍava* was staged before a distinguished gathering at Kanauj, which included the Emperor himself. The poet testifies: "In the family of Raghu, there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who lowered the heads of the Muralas; who destroyed the Mekalas; who drove the Kalingas before him in war; who ruined the sports of the king of Keralas; who conquered the Kulūtas in battle; who destroyed the Kuntalas as if with an axe; who forcibly seized the royalty of the Ramaṭhas."²⁷ The Kuntalas were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. The statement that the Kuntalas were destroyed as if with an axe proves the decisiveness of the victory. It is likely that Mahīpāla penetrated into the South to Murala and Kerala, or defeated their kings who were in alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Perhaps that is why he might have been called Kāñcīkavyāla. The Ramaṭhas and Kulūtas are located in the Punjab. Kalinga is Orissa.

Mahīpāla was thus the Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta.

²⁰ IA, XVI, 174.

²¹ EI, XII, 12-16.

²² Ibid. VII. 89-90.

²³ Chap. V, n. 24.

²⁴ IA, XV, 140.

²⁵ ASI, (1924-25), 168.

²⁶ Chap. V, n. 106.

²⁷ Chap. I, n. 37.

In spite of the great victory obtained by Mahīpāla over the Karnāṭaka forces in 916 A.C., the authority of Kanauj lost its former grip over the imperial dominions. The feudatories were restive. In 930 A.C. Govinda IV was in occupation of Cambay.²⁸ In c. 935 A.C. the eastern provinces of the empire in modern Bihar were lost to the revived power of the Pālas in Bengal. Sometime between 914 A.C. and 940 A.C. Lāṭa and West Malwa were lost to the empire by the Paramāra feudatory going over to the enemy.²⁹

In c. 917 A.C. Indra III was succeeded by his eldest son Amoghavarṣa II. But a year later, the young ruler died, and his brother Govinda IV a young man of twenty came to the throne, possibly by foul means. 'He was', says the inscription, 'the very essence of life, and its joy'. 'He was in bondage of fair women's eyes' and 'took to the ways of vice'.³⁰ In spite of a reference in a record of 930 A.C. that Govinda IV held part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, there is no evidence to support it. On the contrary, in c. 931 A.C. an important part of that valley was under Vināyaka-pāla i.e. Mahīpāla, the emperor of Kanauj.

As a result of the feudatories rising against him, Govinda IV had to abdicate. In c. 935 A.C. Amoghavarṣa III came to the throne with the aid of Yuvarāja I, Kokkala's son. Rājaśekhara in his play *Karpūramāñjarī* refers to the fact that Amoghavarṣa was in exile and was restored to his throne on the banks of the Payoṣṇī by Yuvarāja I, the king of Cedi.³¹ Amoghavarṣa's reign (934-940 A.C.) was short. In c. 940 A.C. he was succeeded by Kṛṣṇa III. Between 917-940 A.C. the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was on wane. The Cedi king pursued his father's old policy of instigating the emperor of Karnāṭaka to invade Gūrjaradeśa. In c. 940 A.C. Kṛṣṇa captured Chitor, and overran Malwa and Gūrjaratrā. He also pushed further north and occupied Kālañjara. It is doubtful whether these raids were undertaken by Kṛṣṇa III before he came to the throne in 940 A.C.³² A Kanarese praśasti found in Baghelakhand Agency corroborates the Rāṣṭrakūṭa panegyric.³³ It gives him the imperial titles showing that there were two successive raids.

These raids had fateful results. The Cālukyās of Saurāṣṭra disappeared; so did the Cāpas of Wadhwan. Mūlarāja, the son of Cālukya Rāji, drifted south from Gūrjaratrā, captured Aṇahilavāḍa, and occupied Sārasvata maṇḍala. Gūrjaratrā lost its name to become Marwar. Naddūla, its capital, was captured by Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja of Śākambharī, who founded a line. Paramāra Siyaka II or his father came to occupy the whole of Gujarat south of the Sarasvatī and perhaps Saurāṣṭra as the viceroy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror. These changes indicate the nature of the campaign of Kṛṣṇa III. The Cālukya Mūlarāja was driven southward from Gūrjaratrā, being hostile to Emperor Mahīpāla. The

²⁸ *EI*, VII, 26.²⁹ Chap. V, n. 45.³⁰ *EI*, VII, 33, 34.³¹ *Karpūramāñjarī* (Edited by KONOW) 181-2.³² *EI*, IV, 284, 289.³³ *Ibid*, XIX, 287.

Cāhamāna sided with him and took part in ejecting Kṛṣṇa's forces. Perhaps Mūlarāja sought the protection of Siyaka II against his erstwhile sovereign.

Mahīpāla was succeeded by Mahendrapāla II, whose short reign could be placed between 940 and 948 A.C. One of the Partabgarh stone inscriptions, which opens with the date 943 A.C. and closes with A.C. 946, recites that the inscription was issued from Mahodaya and refers to the reigning emperor Mahendrapāla II, the son of Vināyakapāla and queen Prasādhana-devī. The second grant relates to a temple of the Sun built by Indrarāja, the Cāhamāna feudatory of Mahendrapāla II, and refers to Mādhava, the son of Dāmodara, as the feudatory and military governor of the emperor at Ujjayinī. The third part is also a grant of a field to the same temple by Bhartṛpaṭṭa, who is also a sāmanta of the emperor.³⁴ These inscriptions leave no doubt that in 946 A.C. the Gūrjara emperor held not only the region round Kanauj including Kāśī but parts of Gūrjaradeśa comprising considerable parts of modern Malwa and Rajputana.

But the imperial Gūrjaradeśa lay mauled and bleeding. The empire of the South was tottering to a fall. The country was prostrate and defenceless.

At this stage, the descendants of Mihira Bhoja had little of Gūrjaradeśa left in their hands, for the feudatories were all seeking greater power for themselves at the cost of their suzerain.

Mahendrapāla II was succeeded by Devapāla in c. 948 A.C. He still had claims to be called an emperor. Between 955 A.C. and 957 A.C. there appears to be three kings in succession. Devapāla's successor, Vijayapāla, ruled in about 960 A.C. In c. 959 A.C. the Guhilots and the Candellas were regarded as the feudatories of the emperors of Kanauj.

The genealogy of the shadow emperors of Kanauj gets confused at this stage.³⁵ In 960 A.C., however, Alwar was ruled by Mathanadeva, a feudatory of the Gūrjara Pratihāra family, owing allegiance to Vijayapāladeva; but at the same time he prefixed "Paramēśvara" to his name to indicate that the suzerainty was only nominal.³⁶ About the same time, part of the Central Provinces passed into the hands of Dhaṅga, the Candella king (950-999 A.C.). He, however, fought his suzerain and defeated him in 954 A.C.³⁷ though he acknowledged a nominal suzerainty.

The king of Cedi, Lakṣmaṇarāja (c. 950-960 A.C.), the son of Yuvarāja I, in the middle of the tenth century vanquished the Gūrjara king³⁸ and even invaded Saurāṣṭra.³⁹ The Cāhamānas of Sākambhārī became practically independent by 950 A.C. The emperor, Raghukula cakravartin, was so

³⁴ *Ibid.* 176; Pt. III.

³⁵ For a discussion of these rulers see *DHNI*, 590 ff.; *JDL*, X, 69.

³⁶ *EI*, III, 266. महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमथनदेवो. . .

³⁷ *Ibid.* I, 129, 134.

³⁸ *Ibid.* XI, 142; vs. 8: वङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपाण्ड्यो लटेशलुण्ठनपटुर्जितगुर्जनेन्द्रः

काश्मीरवीरमुकुटार्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥

³⁹ *Ibid.* I, 268, vss. 59-62, *IA*, (1913), 58, 62.

weak as to have visited the Cāhamāna Sindhārāja to seek a favour.⁴⁰ In 946 A.C. Guhilot Bhartṛpaṭṭa II had not only disowned his late master but had allied himself by marriage with the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquerors.⁴¹ The Kacchapaghātas under Vajradāman also became independent in Gwalior before c. 977 A.C.⁴²

The First Empire of Gūrjaradeśa founded by the Pratihāras could not survive the successive blows dealt by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors, one in 915 A.C., the other in 940 A.C. All the principal feudatories were now independent kings struggling to survive or to wear the imperial mantle.

Ujjayinī; however, continued in the hands of Mādhava, the military governor of the emperor of Kanauj. But the imperial authority of Kanauj was irretrievably weakened, and a fresh struggle for gaining supremacy in the North began.

III

The Kapadvanj grant of Kṛṣṇa II, which is dated 910 A.C., shows that Praçaṇḍa of the Brahmāvaloka house was the military governor of Kheṭaka maṇḍala.⁴³

Between 910 and 940 A.C. modern Gujarat south of the Sarasvatī, West Malwa and Saurāṣṭra had already passed under the sway of the Paramāras, who had accepted the vassalage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors at some date before 910 A.C. and 940 A.C. There is no doubt that the Paramāras had helped Kṛṣṇa III in his raid of the North. And when the empire of Gūrjaradeśa broke up in 940 A.C., Vairisimha II, or Sīyaka II was left as the viceroy of the newly conquered territories by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. There is no evidence that Dhārā was the capital of the Paramāras.

The reference to Dhārā appears for the first time in connection with Vairisimha II alias Vajraśasvāmī. "By that king Dhārā was indicated, when he slew crowd of his enemies with the edge of his sword."⁴⁴ This pun on Dhārā may indicate either that Dhārā belonged to him or that he conquered it. Perhaps it was a temporary occupation. Anyway, Ujjayinī was in the occupation of Mahipāla at least till 946 A.C.

Sīyaka II, the son of Vairisimha II, at the date of the Harsola grant, 948 A.C., had many achievements to his credit. He is variously called Harṣa and Simhadantabhaṭa and is curiously styled Mahārājādhirājapati and Mahāmāṇḍalika Cūḍamaṇi, unusual names which indicate a position above an ordinary feudatory.

Sīyaka II possibly wrested Saurāṣṭra from the Gūrjara Emperor, for Yogarāja referred to in the Harsola grant can be identified with Avanivarman II, the Cālukya feudatory,⁴⁵ unless the reference is to Yogarāja who is placed after Vanarāja in the Cāṇḍā line. It was while returning from the

⁴⁰ Chap. I, n. 74 ; *IA*, (1913) 58, 62.

⁴¹ *IA*, (1910), 191.

⁴² *EI*, XV, 36 ff.

⁴³ n. 12.

⁴⁴ Appendix D, vs. 11.

⁴⁵ *EI*, IX, 2.

victory over Yogarāja that the conqueror halted on the banks of the Mahi and gave two villages near modern Modasa to two Brāhmaṇas of Vadnagar. Siyaka also vanquished the king of the Hūṇas, who ruled somewhere to the north-west of Malwa.⁴⁶ He also came in conflict with Yaśovarman, the Candella of Jejābhukti (925-950 A.C.), but had to retreat.⁴⁷ The *Navasāha-sāṅka-carita*⁴⁸ records Siyaka II's success over the lord of Rudrapāṭi, who may be identified with Tailappa II, the Cālukya or his predecessor. Rudrapāṭi has not been identified so far, but it is clearly Raṭṭapāḍi, 'the seven and a half lakh country' referred to in the inscriptions of Rājendra, the Cōla king. It is, therefore, clear that at some stage of Siyaka's career, he must have, as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, invaded Rudrapāṭi or Raṭṭapāḍi, the ancestral territory of the Western Cālukyas, and defeated its ruler.

It is difficult to say where the capital of Siyaka II was at the time. It was neither Ujjayinī nor Khetaka. Dhārā was not still the capital. Lāṭa was more likely at the time under his sway. His nominal sovereign was the emperor of Mānyakheta.

Luckily for Siyaka II the imperial power at Mānyakheta was on the decline. Emperor Kṛṣṇa III (939-956 A.C.), after his first invasion of the North in c. 940 A.C., was too busy settling with the rulers of the South to turn his attention to the North. In the meantime, Siyaka II went on consolidating his power. About 960 A.C. he added Ujjayinī and the region around it to his dominions. Between 965 A.C. and 968 A.C. Kṛṣṇa III sent some of his generals northward and Siyaka II had a temporary set-back; for, Nārasimha, one of his feudatories about the time, acquired the reputation of having conquered the northern region and the title of 'king of the Gūrjaras'.⁴⁹ Two of his inscriptions, one of 965 A.C., the other of 968 A.C., describe this general's subordinates as Ujjayinī-bhujāṅga, the destroyer of Ujjayinī.⁵⁰ But this conflict did not leave Siyaka, who is referred to as the Gūrjara, any the weaker.

Kṛṣṇa III died in 968 A.C. and was succeeded by his younger brother Khotṭiga. By c. 970 A.C. Siyaka II, having consolidated his power, marched on Mānyakheta. He was now bidding for imperial power by destroying his suzerain himself. Siyaka's cousin, Kaṅka of the Vāgaḍa line, overpowered the Kanarese army at Kālighāṭa on the banks of the Narmadā, where the first battle of the campaign was fought.⁵¹ In 972 A.C. Siyaka II

⁴⁶ NC, XI, 90 : अकङ्कणमकेयूरमनूपुरममेखलम् । हूणावरोधवैधव्यदीक्षादानं व्यधत्त यः ॥

⁴⁷ EI, I, 126 vs. 23 : गौडकीडाल्तासिस्तुलितखसबलः कोशलः कोशलानां नश्यत्कश्मीरवीरः शिथिलितमिथिलः कालवन्मालवानाम् । सीदत्सावयचेदिः कुरुतरुषु मरुत्संज्वरो गूर्जराणां तस्मात्तस्यां स जज्ञे नृपकुलतिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥

⁴⁸ XI, 89 : स्मितज्योत्स्नादरिद्रेण बाष्पस्त्राविमुखेन्दुना । शशंसुर्विजयं यस्य रुद्रपाटीपतिस्त्रियः ॥

⁴⁹ EI, V, 176, 179 : कृष्णराजोत्तरदिग्विजयविदितगूर्जराधिराजस्य...

⁵⁰ EC, XI, Nos. 23, 33.

⁵¹ EI, XIV, 295.

was at the gates of Mānyakheṭa. He captured and sacked the city. This event is referred to by Dhanapāla in his *Paiyālacchī*, which he wrote at Dhārā at the court of Siyaka II himself. By this time, he had shifted his capital to Dhārā, further away from the reach of Mānyakheṭa. The conqueror returned to his capital flushed with victory, but died soon after in c. 974 A.C.

Khoṭṭiga, who had died during this war, was succeeded by his nephew Karka II in 972 A.C. The sceptre of broken Mānyakheṭa, however, soon passed into the hands of the Cālukya king Tailappa II, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whose ancestral territory was Raṭṭapāḍī. The new king in 973 A.C. immediately invaded Lāṭa and appointed Senāpati Bārappa a military governor of the conquered territory.

As already stated, the empire of Gŭrjaradeśa broke in 940 A.C. The Candellas became independent. The Kacchapaghātas also became independent in Gwalior and Dubkund. The Cālukyas of Gŭrjaratrā founded a petty principality in the valley of the Sarasvatī. The Guhilots of Medapāṭa, and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and of Naddūla were nominal vassals of Kanauj. At this time, Siyaka II, the Paramāra, threw off the yoke of Mānyakheṭa, and brought together some of the fragments of Gŭrjaradeśa under his sway. His kingdom extended from Anandpura and Banswara in the North to the Godavari in the South ; from Bhilsa in the East to Girnar in the West. It was Siyaka who consolidated the dominions, which substantially became modern Gujarat, and founded the second Empire.

IV

Muñja or Vākpati II is one of the most romantic figures in history. Fact and fiction have surrounded him with an attractiveness given to few kings. Many were the names and epithets by which he was designated. He was called Vākpati and Utpalarāja and assumed the title of the vanquished Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors, Pṛthvivallabha, Śrīvallabha, and Amoghavarṣa.⁵² There is a legend preserved in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that he was not the son of Siyaka II but a foundling discovered in a thicket of muñja grass from which he derived his name. The legend may be dismissed as untrue.

A new era of power opened for Gŭrjaradeśa with the accession of Muñja. He was a great military leader and maintained his father's policy by concentrating his energies on extending and consolidating his empire in the north and keeping the Cālukya Tailappa II in the south at bay. Muñja was reviving the imperial Gŭrjara power, while the Cālukya who had usurped the old imperial throne of Mānyakheṭa, was determined not to let him grow strong.

The Kalacuri kings of Cedi, in alliance with Tailappa II, had waxed very powerful. Muñja first turned his attention to Cedi over which Yuvarāja II the son of Lakṣmaṇa (975-1000 A.C.) ruled, and defeated him, over-

ran his country, and captured his capital Tripurī.⁵³ He turned west, vanquished Śaktikumāra, the Guhilot of Medapāṭa. Its capital Āghāṭa, modern Ahad near Udaipur, was also plundered. Śaktikumāra sought asylum with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī.⁵⁴

Lakṣmaṇa, the founder of the line of the Cāhamānas of Naddūla, was succeeded by Śobhita. The dominion of his son Balirāja included the Abu region. Muñja defeated Balirāja, and annexed Kiradu and other parts of Marwar to his empire. His fame, sang Padmagupta, 'caused the pearls in the necklaces worn by the women of Marwar to dance.'⁵⁵ This is corroborated by a grant of Cālukya Vikramāditya V, which says, 'at the approach of Utpala the people of Marwar trembled.'⁵⁶ Muñja appointed his son Aranyarāja to rule over the Abu region, his other son to rule over Jhalor, and his nephew Dūsala to govern Bhillamāla. His march on Naddūla in c. 985 A.C. was, however, successfully resisted by Balirāja.⁵⁷ In one of his campaigns Muñja also vanquished the king of the Hūṇas.⁵⁸

He then turned his attention to Mūlarāja Cālukya, who had successfully established himself at Anāhilavāḍa in the valley of the Sarasvati, and defeated him. Mūlarāja, like the ruler of Marwar, had to fly before Muñja 'like timid deer' and seek the protection of Dhavala, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Hastikuṇḍī near Abu.⁵⁹ "He neither eats food nor drinks" states Padmagupta ecstatically, "He keeps not the company of women. He sleeps on sand, abjures worldly joys, endures the burning Sun. Oh ! lion of Mālava, it seems to me that this Gūrjara king is doing penance in the forests of Marwar, anxious to obtain an atom of the prasāda, which is the dust of your feet".⁶⁰ "The foolish queen of Gūrjara, as she wanders terror-struck in the forest, occasionally glances at her husband's sword to find its edge ; often in the past had she heard the bards sing, 'Mighty king, the armies of your foes have been in the battle eddied by the edge (torrent) of your sword'".⁶¹

⁵³ Appendix D, vs. 15.

⁵⁴ *EI*, X, 20.

⁵⁵ *JBBRAS*, XVI, 173 : तत्र स्थितं स्थितिमता वरदेव दैवाद् भृत्येन ते चकितचित्तमियन्यहानि । उत्कम्पिनि स्तनतटे हरिणेक्षणानां हारान् प्रणर्तयति यत्र भवत्प्रतापः ॥

⁵⁶ *IA*, XVI, 23.

⁵⁷ *EI*, IX, 75, vs. 7 : बलिराजदेवो यो मुञ्जराजबलभङ्गमचीकरतम्...

⁵⁸ *IA*, XVI, 23, Lines 41-42 : दृणप्राणहरप्रतापदहनो यात्रात्रसन्मारवधैश्चैद्यखिलक्षमाजयनय-

व्युत्पन्नधीरूपलः ।

⁵⁹ *Ibid*.

⁶⁰ *JBBRAS*, XVI, 173 : आहारं न करोति नाम्बु पिबति क्षौणं न संसेवते शेते यत् सिकतासु मुक्त-विषयश्चण्डातपं सेवते । त्वत्पादाब्जरजःप्रसादकणिकालभोन्मुखस्तन्मरौ मन्ये मालवसिंह गूर्जरपतिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते ॥

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 174 : ममानि द्विषतां कुलानि समरे त्वत्खड्गधाराकुले, नाथास्मिन्निति बंदिवाचि बहुगो देव श्रुतायां पुरा । मुग्धा गूर्जरभूमिपालमहिषी प्रत्याशया पाथसः, कान्तारे चकिता विमुञ्चति मुहुः पत्युः कृपाणे दशौ ॥

Making allowance for poetic exaggeration, there is no doubt that Mūlarāja for some time was in serious plight and ultimately made peace with the conqueror by accepting his vassalage.

Muñja's empire now included not only modern Gujarat, but Cedi, Malwa, Mewar, Marwar, the Abu region, Jhalor and Lāṭa. He was building his power on the fabric of old Gūrjaradeśa; but his base was Malwa. Curiously it was Mūlarāja, the master of Sārasvata maṇḍala, who was styled Gūrjareśvara.

Madhyadeśa was now divided into two parts, the old Gūrjaradeśa and the eastern part over which the Candellas and the Kalacuris held sway. Muñja could conquer Gūrjaradeśa but he could not attempt any further conquests in the North, for, Tailappa II, the Cālukya, was a constant menace to Malwa. Muñja then turned south and subdued Bārappa, who held Lāṭa for the Cālukyas. According to Merutuṅga, Muñja led his armies across the Narmadā six times and inflicted defeat after defeat upon Tailappa. In one of these wars he also seems to have vanquished the Keralas and the Cōlas,⁶² though he could not possibly have gone to those distant regions.

Then came the crowning episode of a very romantic career, described in a lost poem called *Muñjarāsa* in Apabhraṁśa composed soon after Muñja's death. Hemacandra has quoted two verses from it. Merutuṅga has given some more, and has also based *Muñjaprabandha* in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* on it. Evidently it was a popular poem in the eleventh century describing the adventures of Muñja.

Muñja, the gay lover and the indomitable conqueror, travels every night twelve yojanas to meet a lady-love. Later, his passion cools down, and she addresses him thus :

"Muñja, the bond of love is already loose. Fool, don't you know that the thunders of Āṣāḍha are already heard, and soon the roads will be unfit (for your dromedary to travel) ? . . .

As you leave my arms, so do I leave yours. Who is at fault ? But if you leave my heart, I shall know that Muñja is wroth with me.

The water-maiden bears up life by kissing her own hand—the hand which drank the crystal-clear water in which the beloved Muñja was reflected."

Muñja carries on a life-long war with king Tailappa of Karṇāṭaka. Against the advice of his minister, Rudrāditya, he crosses the Godavari, is defeated, and is captured by Tailappa. Tailappa's sister Mṛṇālavatī, a widow, falls in love with Muñja. While both are looking in a mirror, the elderly widow bewails her grey hair.

Muñja says, "Mṛṇālavatī, do not weep over departed youth. Sugar-candy, even if broken into a thousand pieces, will taste sweet."

Efforts are being made by Muñja's friends to rescue him from the

subterranean cell in which he is kept. Muñja insists on taking Mr̥ṇālavatī with him. She, afraid of losing her lover if they went to Dhārā, informs her brother about the plan, and it is frustrated by Tailappa.

"Women are clever in inventing amorous talks to please the kind ; the person who confides in them comes to grief."

Tailappa forces Muñja to beg from door to door. The poet says :

"Why did you not die by fire or string ? Why did you not become a heap of ashes ? Today, Muñja, tied to a string, is taken from house to house like a dancing monkey."

While begging, Muñja calls upon the spirit of his departed minister who had advised him against crossing the Godavari.

"Rudrāditya, now in heaven ! Unattended, I stand, deprived of my elephants, chariots, horses and men. Call me to you : I stand with my face towards you."

A proud damsel contemptuously gives him whey to drink in a cup made of dry leaves. Muñja says :

"Simple-hearted damsel ! Do not turn away in pride, seeing me with a cup of leaves in my hand. Muñja was once the master of fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants and now he has lost them all.

Mr̥ṇālavatī offers alms to Muñja.

Muñja says, "Mr̥ṇālavatī, if wisdom after the event is the same as before it, no one would be overcome by calamity."

Mr̥ṇālavatī replies :

"When luck turned, even the ten-headed King (Rāvaṇa), the master of seas and the lord of the forts of Lāṅkā, was destroyed. Therefore, Muñja, do not grieve."

Ultimately, Muñja meets death under the feet of Tailappa's elephant⁶³.

The language of this poem approximates the earliest specimen of Old Gujarati found in the works of the twelfth century.

Muñja was a hero of song and fiction. This dramatic end of the gallant conqueror given by the *Muñjarāsa* is based on truth. Rudrāditya was his minister, and all authorities agree that he was killed by Tailappa II. His death occurred between 995 and 997 A.C., between the date of Amita-gati's *Subhāṣita-ratna-saṁdoha* (993-94 A.C.) and Tailappa's death in 997-98 A.C.⁶⁴ There is no doubt that except in this last war Muñja always got the better of Tailappa.

Padmagupta writes of him :

We worship Lord Vākpati
For he is the root
From which that heavenly creeper springs,
Which we call Sarasvatī.
Only by his grace

⁶³ GL, 57-59.

⁶⁴ DHNI, II, p. 857, 858.

Do we tread the path,
Which mighty poets trod before us.
And thus does the poet bid his master farewell :
Thou, source of joys voluptuous,
The crest-jewel of kings
Home of nectar which is gentility
Ocean of wit, Oh lord
Thou might of Ujjayinī !
Thou wert the god of love to maidens fair,
Oh ! brother unto the righteous,
Inspirer of noble arts—
Where art thou ?
Wherever thou art, Wait :
I am coming.⁶⁵

Muñja was not merely a conqueror and a gay lover. He was a poet and a patron of poets. He cultivated eloquence, high poetry, and logic. He knew the *Sāstras* well.⁶⁶ He wrote verses himself which are quoted in works on poetics. Dhanika, in his commentary on *Daśarūpaka*, twice quotes a verse, the authorship of which he ascribes in one place to Vākpati-rāja, and in the other to Muñja. The Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra quotes three different stanzas composed by Utpalarāja in his books *Suṣṛītilaka*, *Kavikaṇṭhābharana* and *Aucityavicāracarcā*.⁶⁷ Among the poets who adorned his court were Padmagupta or Parimala, the author of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* ; Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpaka*, a treatise on dramaturgy ; and his brother Dhanika, who wrote a commentary on the last named work styled *Daśarūpāvaloka*, and *Kāvyanirṇaya* ; Halāyudha who wrote a commentary on Piṅgala's work on Metrics ; Dhanapāla, the author of *Paīyālacchī* and *Tilakamañjarī* ; and Amitagati, the author of *Subhāṣitaratna-saṁdoha*. Ujjayinī attracted the best talents from Kanauj, Kāśī and other centres of learning. Muñja, therefore, was the great upholder of the imperial tradition of Gūjaraśeśa after Mahīpāla. On his death the poet truly sang :—

He is dead
Lakṣmī will return to Govinda ;
Vīraśrī will hie back to the god of war ;

⁶⁵ NC, I, vs. 7 : सरस्वतीकल्पलैककन्दं वन्दामहे वाक्पतिराजदेवम् । यस्य प्रसादाद्व्यमप्यनन्य-
कवीन्द्रवीर्णे पथि सखरामः ॥ ; JBBRS XVI, 174 : हा शृङ्गारतरङ्गिणीकुलगिरे हा राजचूडामणे, हा
सौजन्यसुधानिधान हहहा वैदग्ध्यदुग्धोदधे । हा देवोज्जयिनीमुज्ज्वल युवतीप्रत्यक्षकन्दर्प हा हा सद्ग्राधव
हा कलमृतकर कासि प्रतीक्षस्व नः ॥

⁶⁶ Appendix D, vs. 13.

⁶⁷ *Daśarūpakam*, (NS., 1828), 102, 103 ; *Kāvyamālā*, Pt. 2, ed. Durgaprasad and
Parab, Bombay, 1886, 37 ; *Ibid.* Pt. 4, 1887, 125 ; *Ibid.* Pt. I, 2nd ed. 1893, 131,

But now that Muñja is no more,
Sarasvatī alone will have
None to befriend her.

Muñja was also a great builder. When he first made Dhārā his capital he beautified it with many tanks, one of which is still called Muñjasāgara. He also built ghats and temples at Ujjayinī, at Maheswar on the Narmadā, at Omkar-Mandhata and Dharampur. A town in Gujarat was also founded by him and was known as Muñjapura. Of this period two personalities stand out above all others—Mihira Bhoja of god-like majesty and Muñja, a quivering flame of beauty.

V

In order to give a proper perspective of the history of Gūrjaradeśa of the tenth century, the position of Mūlarāja must be accurately assessed. When he drifted southward and in v.s. 998 (942 A.C.) captured Aṇahilavāḍa he styled himself only a Mahārājādhirāja as his father did. The stories that Mūlarāja acquired the kingdom of Aṇahilavāḍa from the last Cāvḍā descendant of Vanarāja then called Aṇahilavāḍa pattana by adoption of trickery are legendary. Undoubtedly he conquered Pāṭaṇa. His mother did not come from drunken and degenerated forbears the later Cāvḍās are described to be. Mūlarāja's records state that he acquired Sārasvata maṇḍala by his own prowess and that his paternal and maternal ancestry was unsullied. But the fact that he displaced some petty ruler of the Cāvḍā family may be accepted.

The principality which Mūlarāja acquired was small indeed. It stretched only from the borders of the desert to Siddhpur and Pāṭaṇa including modern Vadhiar. The bulk of modern Gujarat was not ruled by him, but by Muñja.

The epigraphic evidence clearly shows that for about thirty years Mūlarāja sat quiet in Sārasvata maṇḍala waiting for an opportunity, but afraid to come into conflict with the daily growing power of the Paramāras in the South. His grant of 974 A.C. is of a village near Pāṭaṇa and so was his grant of 987 A.C.; nor does he change his status to that of an independent ruler. During this period Siyaka II, the ruler of Gujarat, was forging ahead with his imperial schemes.

In 974 A.C. Siyaka II was succeeded by his formidable son, Muñja (974-996 A.C.) on the throne of Dhārā. Mūlarāja was only a Mahārājādhirāja—a vassal—and so he remained. In 987 A.C. Muñja, who ruled over Gūrjaradeśa, was a great conqueror. Mūlarāja together with the ruler of Mewar had to fly before him 'like timid deer'. Dhavala gave shelter to the armies of a king whose name is lost, and of the 'lord of the Gūrjaras' when Muñjarāja destroyed Āghāṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa (modern Ahad near Udaipur). Mūlarāja, therefore, must be taken to have accepted the vassalage of Muñja.

Mūlarāja's son Cāmuṇḍa by Śrī Mādhavī, the daughter of a king Bhoja of the Cāhamāna family, had begun to share the burden of government during his father's lifetime before 977 A.C.⁶⁸ Father and son organised Sārasvata maṇḍala, set up a well-ordered administration and made adjustments with very powerful neighbours. They had a trying time with Cāhamāna Vighraharāja of Śākambharī (973-997 A.C.), with the ambitious Siyaka II and the powerful Muñja, and with Bārappa, the viceroy of Tailappa II, ruling from Broach.

The *Prabandhas* have naturally to tell a lot of legends about the victories achieved by the founder of the Cālukyan dynasty. Hemacandra compares him with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā. But of them all, he, being the nearest in time, can only be referred to as preserving some accurate history, may be, mixed with tradition and rounded off by the eulogistic fulness of a court poet.

According to the *Dvyāśraya*, Lakṣarāja—Lakhā Foolani of folk-tales—of Cutch, in league with Gṛharipu, the Ābhira king of Saurāṣṭra, fought Mūlarāja.⁶⁹

Hemacandra tells the story of Mūlarāja's conquest of Gṛharipu in a graphic manner. The king started on the campaign after due ceremony. He was surrounded by his feudatories and blessed by the Brāhmaṇas. He held court, gave away wealth to the Brāhmaṇas. Men gathered together to see him from afar. Women of the royal palace came out to make him offerings. Every one at the time was anxious to have a look at him. In the court, the Brāhmaṇas chanted, the preceptor gave blessings, the musicians sang. The sound of musical instruments reverberated in the heavens. The royal preceptor then applied tilaka to Mūlarāja and wished him victory. The astrologers were not left behind.

First, the feudatories started. Having devoutly saluted Mahālakṣmī, Mūlarāja started on an elephant. Around him marched soldiers with drawn swords.

As the army marched forward the ascetics residing in the forests came to see it. Horsemen and chariots accompanied the king. Ultimately under orders from him the army encamped on the banks of the Jambumālī. The whole camp, like the city of a Gandharva or dreamland, was set up in a moment. The tired soldiers rested under the shade of the trees on its bank. Horses were washed. Shops were set up for the army in tents. Women who accompanied the army, refreshed themselves after the fatigue of the journey by washing their feet, rubbing ghee on their body and dressing themselves in wet clothes. The camp was like a city. Some soldiers began even to hunt boars with the aid of dogs. Camelmen rested their camels. Some began to cook their own food, some worshipped gods.

Then Drunasa, the messenger of Gṛharipu, approached Mūlarāja and

⁶⁸ BV, 80, 91.

⁶⁹ DV, IV, 90 : जल्पन् गार्गीयतां यदूनामिति गार्गीभूतः ससज्ज लक्षः ।

inquired about the purpose of his visit. He also praised his master's prowess. To him Mūlarāja replied :

" You have spoken well and fearlessly. A resident of Saurāṣṭra addicted to drink cannot speak so. But Gṛharipu is unjust. He harasses the pilgrims and kills the Brāhmaṇas. How can I make friends with such a wicked man ? No one can even move freely in Saurāṣṭra. He has destroyed the sacred Prabhāsa. He has raided peaceful towns. The son of a mlechha woman, he has been hunting deer on the Girnara. Go and tell him to come out and fight me."⁷⁰

Gṛharipu got his army ready. His generals left their accomplished, beautiful and voluptuous women playing games and joined up. The Bhillas also joined the army. Lakṣarāja of Kaccha came to the war riding on a blue mare. Men with their eyes red with drink also joined ; so did Sindhurāja. The women folk of the soldiers followed the army on camels with provision for water.

The Brāhmaṇas living on the river Bilvakī informed Mūlarāja of the on-coming host of Gṛharipu. His army, thereupon, got ready for a fight. The Paramāra king of Abu also fought on his side. There was a deadly encounter, and both the armies suffered heavy losses. Gṛharipu performed deeds of valour. Ultimately, Mūlarāja and Gṛharipu faced each other, and Mūlarāja captured Gṛharipu and Lakṣa ran to his rescue, but was killed in the battle.⁷¹ *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, on the other hand, states that Mūlarāja laid siege to Kapilakoṭa in Kaccha and killed Lākhāka in battle.⁷² Gṛharipu was later released at the intercession of his wife.

After the victory, Mūlarāja went to Prabhāsa, worshipped Somanātha and returned to Aṇahilavāḍa. The ruler of Sindhu,⁷³ who assisted Gṛharipu, cannot be the Arab ruler of Sind, who would be described as a Turuṣka, but the chief of some principality in Kathiawar.

Hemacandra describes Gṛharipu as a mlechha who lived at Vāmanasthalī eating meat and drinking liquor ; who hunted deer at Prabhāsa, ate beef, despised the Brāhmaṇas and killed the pilgrims. It is stated that Mūlarāja though his friend marched on him because god Somanātha in a dream had asked him to do so.⁷⁴ This is court poetry. Gṛharipu was an Ābhīra king, and his wicked ways did not come in the way of Mūlarāja being his friend. The shrine of Somanātha, the most sacred in India at the time, was under his care. The Ābhīras were not recent settlers in Kathiawar and must have been feudatories of the Cālukya viceroys of the Pratihāras.

The Ābhīras were settled in Gujarat for long. Their dialect, Apabhraṃśa, had been recognised as one of the literary languages of Gujarat

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 ff.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 103, 105, 127.

⁷² *SJC*, 19 : कस्मिन्नप्यत्रसरे कपिलकोटदुर्गस्थित एव लाखाकः राज्ञा स्वयं निरुद्धः । ... अथ संग्रामावसरे... उद्धटसुभटवृत्तिदर्शनेन प्रोत्साहितसाहसः श्रीमूलराजेन समं द्वन्द्वयुद्धं कुर्वाणस्तस्याजेयतां दिनत्रयेण विमृश्य तुर्यदिने श्रीसोमेश्वरमनुस्मृत्य ततोऽवतीर्णरुद्रकल्या स लक्षो निजघ्ने ।

⁷³ *DV*, IV, 89 :

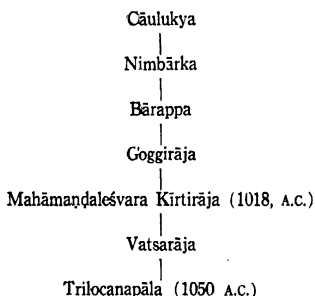
⁷⁴ *IA*, IV, 73.

before the rise of the Valabhīs (c. 509 A.C.). Were the Ābhīras foreigners? Was their language alien? Patañjali (B.C. 150) regards Apabhraṁśa as the corruption of the normal Saṁskṛta; Bharata (200 A.C.) refers to 'Deśa-bhāṣā' and to Ābhīrokti, the idiom of the Ābhīras, the herdsmen; but there is no evidence of foreign origin in these early references.

There is no doubt that the Ābhīras, a hated people, believed to have once lived on the Indus, were called mleccchas. They fought in the battle of Kurukṣetra. The *Manu Smṛti* treats them as descended from the Brāhmaṇas by Ambaṣṭha women. Whatever might have been their early status, prior to 100 A.C. the Ābhīras lived in Gujarat without any brand of social inferiority. *Periplus* (c. 100 A.C.) found them already settled in Western India (Abiria). Ābhīra Rudrabhūti (181 A.C.) was a general of the Western Kṣatrapas. Išvarasena ruled a principality near Nasik (300 A.C.). The Ābhīras lived in Rajputana and Malwa on the western frontier of the Gupta empire in Samudragupta's time (360 A.C.). An Ābhīra dynasty succeeded the Āndharabhṛtyas, according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. All these facts indicate that the Ābhīras occupied an important position in society in Gūjjaradeśa, even further south, before 509 A.C. Neither their names nor their language appears to be foreign; and even if they were originally foreigners, they were for all purposes children of the soil before the Christian era began.⁷⁵

In spite of the conflicting records, Mūlarāja may be taken to have defeated the kings of Saurāṣṭra and Cutch and annexed parts of their territory.

Hemacandra also describes the battle between Mūlarāja and the ruler of Lāṭa, Dvārappa or Bārappa. It is referred to by most of the *Prabandhas*. This Bārappa was appointed by Tailappa II of Mānyakheta as the viceroy of Lāṭa. His family line is given in the inscription of his descendants⁷⁶ :—



⁷⁵ *GL*, p. 17. For a contrary view, see Elliot, I. 266; *BG*, I, Pt. I. 137, 139; *Archaeological Survey of West India*, II. 159-64.

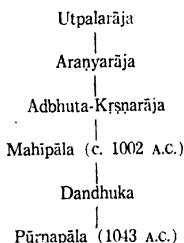
⁷⁶ *IA*, XII, 196-205; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, VII. 88.

"The extraordinarily valiant Mūlarāja" says Someśvara, in the *Kirtikau-mudī*, "killed Bārappa, the general of the ruler of Lāṭa, to whom retreat was unknown, and took his elephants." Merutuṅga is also correct as to his being a general, for, Bārappa, in the inscriptions of his descendants Kīrtirāja and Trilocanapāla, is only called a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Bārappa's son Goggirāja soon regained independence and Lāṭa continued to be ruled by Bārappa's descendants for about fifty-five years. Goggirāja is described as having relieved, like the great Viṣṇu, his own land which was seized by powerful demon-like enemies.

Bārappa appears to have invaded Sārasvata maṇḍala. Simultaneously, the Cāhamāna king of Sambhar attacked Mūlarāja who had to go in hiding at Kanthādurga.⁷⁷ This incident with Vighararāja of Śākambharī is differently described;⁷⁸ but it is clear that Mūlarāja was worsted in the fight and submitted.

Mūlarāja is also credited with having defeated Dharaṇivarāha, the Paramāra king of Abu, who when so defeated sought the shelter of Dhavala.⁷⁹ The inscription of Dhavala describes Mūlarāja as 'having a powerful army' and 'being intoxicated with pride'. Evidently Dharaṇivarāha accepted the vassalage of Mūlarāja.

The identification of this Dharaṇivarāha is a little difficult. The pedigree of the Paramāras of Abu is thus given in the Vasantaḡaḡha stone inscription of 1043 A.C.⁸⁰



If Utpalarāja is identified with Muṇja Vākpati II, Dharaṇivaraha may be the same as Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja or his brother who came to the throne in c. 995 A.C.

After the death of Muṇja in 995 A.C., Mūlarāja styled himself 'Paramahatṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara.' Once Muṇja was out of the way and Abu subdued, Mūlarāja naturally assumed the title of an inde-

⁷⁷ PC. 16; IA, VI. 84; The Kadi grant confirms it. Kanthkot is in Cutch. This must, therefore, be after the fall of Lakhā.

⁷⁸ Nayachandra in the *Hammira-mahākāvya* states that Vighararāja killed Mūlarāja, and took the country. IA. VIII. 59; PC, 17 says that due to Mūlarāja's bravery, Vighararāja returned; BG. I, Pt. I. 158. Both are exaggerations.

⁷⁹ JASB, X, 821.

⁸⁰ EI, IX, 10.

pendent ruler. In 974 A.C., he gave the grant of a village in modern Kadi in the Baroda State;⁸¹ in 987 A.C. it was of a village in Modhara Ardhāṣṭama;⁸² while the grant of 995 A.C. is of a village in the Satyapura maṇḍala now in Jodhpur State.⁸³ Mūlarāja had by then added that maṇḍala, which was to the north of Sārasvata maṇḍala.

Mūlarāja's reign was a period when the hierarchs of the imperial Gūjaradeśa, the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas, the Cālukyas and the Guhilots were struggling to obtain mastery. With the two powerful Paramāras struggling to consolidate the fragments of old Gūjaradeśa, all that Mūlarāja could do was to extend his sway a little to the north.

Mūlarāja died in 997 A.C. having ruled for fifty-five years. A devout worshipper of Śiva, he constructed the temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍalī, the temple of Mūladevasvāmī and Tripuruṣaprasāda in honour of his father and his two brothers at Aṇahilavāḍa.⁸⁴ He also commenced the reconstruction of the historical temple of Rudramahālaya but he did not live to complete it.⁸⁵ He also made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somanātha at Prabhāsa.

In spite of the narrow limits of his kingdom, however, he was a great ruler. He organised the administration on the lines of the Gupta traditions. He invited learned Brāhmaṇas from outside to Sārasvata maṇḍala and laid the foundation of culture and learning with which Pāṭaṇa came to be associated later. Hemacandra says that Mūlarāja worshipped the Brāhmaṇas and sages and satisfied the desires of mendicants.⁸⁶ Someśvara also refers to the fact that 'he conquered poverty by his gifts'.⁸⁷ The dānapatra of 987 A.C. also describes him as "one whose hands are wet with gifts".⁸⁸ His generosity, for a ruler of so small a principality, was so great that he had to appoint Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha, three members of a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa family, ministers in charge of wells, maṭhs, tanks, temples and caravan-serais. This Mādhava was a great friend of the king and an important minister, who lived long enough to receive a grant from Cāmuṇḍa. Kāñcana, the son of Kāyastha Jejaja, was the writer of his copper-plates; Mahattama, Śivarāja was his Dūtaka. In 997 A.C. Śrījaya also functioned as a sandhivigrahika. Someśvara, the author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*, testifies to the fact that his ancestor Sola, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa of Vadnagar, was the king's

⁸¹ BV, (Hind. Guj.), (1939) I, 82

⁸² IA, VI, 191.

⁸³ EI, X, 76-79.

⁸⁴ PC, 17 : तेन राज्ञा श्रीपत्तने श्रीमूलराजवसहिका कारिता, श्रीमुञ्जालदेवस्वामिनः प्रासादश्च । तथा ... शिवभक्तितया व्रजंस्तद्भक्तिपरितुष्टः सोमनाथ उपदेशदानपूर्वं मण्डलीनगरमागतः । तेन राज्ञा तत्र मूलेश्वर इति प्रासादः कारितः । ... तेन राज्ञा तत्र त्रिपुरुषप्रासादः कारितः ।

⁸⁵ *Rāsamālā* (Guj. Trans. 3rd Ed., Published by Forbes Gujarati Sabha), 61-88.

⁸⁶ DV, I, 181-184.

⁸⁷ KK, II, 5 : दानोपहतदारिद्र्यं शौर्यनिर्जितदुर्जनम्... ।

⁸⁸ Chap. V, n. 33.

purohit. There was another mahattama called Vīra, the father of his more distinguished son Vimāla, and a descendant of Ninnaya and Lehara, Prāgvāṭas or Porvads by caste, who were, according to tradition, associated with Vanarāja. There were also two other ministers named Jambaka and Jehula.

Generous beyond measure, brave and wise, Mūlarāja was a shrewd statesman, and by timely submission and opportune aggression, he consolidated his small principality. At his death it only consisted of Sārasvata and Satyapura maṇḍalas, and parts of Cutch and Saurāṣṭra. He survived, with uncanny tenacity, the ambition of three of the most powerful kings in India of the time, Muṇja of Malwa, Vighararāja of Śākambharī and Tailappa of Karṇāṭaka.

What he built was no doubt small, but its foundations were well and truly laid. On what he built, his descendants raised the structure of modern Gujarat.

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE SECOND EMPIRE : BHOJA, THE MAGNIFICENT

(c. 999—c. 1054 A.C.)

997 A.C. was a fateful year for India. The glory and the power of the First Empire of Gūrjaradeśa which had stabilised India and which presented a bulwark of strength against foreign aggression were no more. Karṇāṭaka, in destroying Imperial Gūrjaradeśa, had destroyed itself ; the power of the imperial Rāṣtrakūṭas had collapsed.

Muṇja Vākpati had the genius to stabilise the power of the Second Empire. But he was not gifted with patience and met an untimely end.

I

The pre-occupations of the Paramāras in the South led Dhaṅga, the Candella ruler of Jejābhukti or Bundelkhand (954-1008 A.C.), to establish a powerful kingdom between the Son and the Chambal with its capital at Khajurāho. "By the strength of his arms, he equalled even the powerful Hammīra who had proved a heavy burden for the earth".¹ In Dāhala, parts of modern Central India, the line of Kokkala, the king-maker, had flourished under Lakṣmaṇarāja and Yuvarāja II. Before c. 1019 A.C. Gāṅgeyadeva came to its throne. Of him it is stated :—

"a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies, (and) the lord of the fortune of the heroes with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (and) with smiling eyes, (and) with his two arms, surpassing the strength of a city-bar, the crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramāditya."²

Of the erstwhile feudatories of the Imperial Gūrjaras the Paramāras, the Candellas and the Kalacuris were thus racing for imperial power in the North.

At Kanauj Mahendrapāla II, the successor of Mahīpāla, was succeeded by his brother Devapāla in c. 948-49 A.C. Between the three great feudatories of the First Empire forging ahead with their imperial ambitions, very little was left to Kanauj except a small principality. The order of succession after Devapāla is a little confused till 960 A.C.,³ when Rājyapāla, still recognised as the nominal suzerain of India, came to the throne of Kanauj.

The Brāhmaṇa Śāhi king Jayapāla (969-1001 A.C.) was a powerful ruler heroically fighting against foreign aggression, but unsupported by any

¹ *EI*, I, 218-21, vs. 17.

² *Ibid.* 6.

³ Chap. VI, n. 34.

great imperial power in North India. Multan was ruled by an independent chief Saikh Ḥamīd Lodī.⁴ In Lower Sind, the Sūmrās, who were Paramāras converted to Islam, were gathering strength.⁵ In fifty years (953-1003 A.C.) Kashmir was passing through an epidemic of internal intrigues and external weakness under the dissolute queen Diddā,⁶ a rival of the notorious Catherine of Russia both in lust and cruelty. In the north, there were small states, one at Chamba and the other in the Kangra valley.

Old Gūrjaradeśa was in fragments. The rulers of Delhi and Śākambhari were independent; those of Naddūla, Medapāṭa, Abu, Sārasvata maṇḍala, Saurāṣṭra and Vāgaḍa were quasi-independent, yielding only a grudging loyalty to the Paramāras.

East of Benares, where possibly the frontiers of Dhaṅga's kingdom lay, Mahīpāla I (914-943 A.C.) ruled at Monghyr. At Siṃhapura in Rāḍha in North Bengal ruled a dynasty of Varmans. At Candradvīpa in East Bengal ruled the Candras. Parts of Assam had recently come under the rule of another line of Pāla kings (1000-1100 A.C.). South Bengal, parts of Orissa and parts of Mahākosala were ruled over by Indraratha, the Kesari king, from his capital Yayātinagar (now Jainagar).⁷ To the south of the Kesari dominion was Kālīṅga proper ruled over by the Gaṅga kings.

Like the North, the South had undergone a revolutionary change by the break up of the imperial power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Empire of Karnāṭaka under Tailappa II was not able to gather the strength of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on account of the life and death struggle with Vākpati Muñja. Tailappa II died in c. 997-8 A.C. and was succeeded by his son Satyāśraya Akalaṅkacarita. In c. 1008 A.C., Satyāśraya was succeeded by Vikramāditya V (1008-1010 A.C.), to be succeeded by his brother Jayasīṃha II Jagadekamalla (1010-1042 A.C.). Jayasīṃha II was succeeded by his son Someśvara I entitled Trailokyamalla (1042-1058 A.C.). Among their feudatories were the Yādavas of Seunadeśa and the Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇa.

The weakening of the power of Karnāṭaka led to the rise of the Cōlas of Tanjore, who consolidated the South from the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā to Cape Comorin. Rājārāja Rājakesari (985-1014 A.C.) was the most powerful emperor in India of the day, who, after brilliant victories on land and sea, laid the foundation of the Cōla power.⁸

II

When Gūrjaradeśa and Karnāṭaka had been broken up and the extreme South was building up a great empire, the north-west frontier was practically undefended except by the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi kings. The empire of the Caliphs had been broken up in the ninth century and among the soldiers of fortune who had carved out kingdoms for themselves were the Samanaiid princes. Alp-tūgīn (933-963 A.C.), a slave of one of the Samanaiid rulers,

⁴ *TF*, I, 9.

⁵ *DHNI*, I, 36 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* 131 ff.

⁷ *C*, I, 250, 251 n.

⁸ *Ibid.* 198 ff.

forced his master to recognise him as an independent chieftain and established himself at Ghazna. From his mountain fortress, he began to spread terror in India. His general Sabuk-tigīn came to the throne in 977 A.C. He continued his master's policy and made a determined effort to destroy the confederacy of Indian kings which Jayapāla was leading in defence of his mother-land.

When Sabuk-tigīn died in 997 A.C., his son Abū-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, born in 971 A.C., was only the governor of Khorasan. Even at the early age of fifteen, he had surprised the veteran warriors of his father's court by his ability. But Sabuk-tigīn on his death-bed had nominated Maḥmūd's younger brother Ismail as his successor. A war of succession followed; and Maḥmūd soon captured Ghazna and sent his brother in exile. His personality, will and genius soon built up a marvellous striking power. Victory attended upon him wherever he went. Within three years of his capturing Ghazna, he had subjugated Central Asia, Iran, Sistan and the adjoining regions. In the year 1000 A.C., he turned his attention to India and gave it an experience of totalitarian war which she did not know before. In Central Asia wars were fought for destruction, not for digvijaya. There were no laws, nor morals, to circumscribe war activities. And North India wrapped in the security which the Imperial Gūjaras had provided saw with startled awe torrents of barbarians sweeping everything before them, intent on murder, rape and loot.

A complete picture of Bhoja's achievements is not possible without a reference to Rājendra Cōla of Tanjore. In 1012 A.C. almost simultaneously with him, Rājārāja the Great was succeeded by his son Rājendra Parakesarī (1012-1044 A.C.). With him the extreme South entered into the history of the North. Rājendra inherited an extensive empire comprising the whole of the modern Madras Presidency, parts of Mysore and the islands of Ceylon and Maldivs. By 1018 A.C., he had associated his son Rājādhirāja as Yuvarāja, and for over twenty-five years father and son shared the burden of a growing empire. Rājendra even as a yuvarāja had started on a career of widespread conquest. He conquered Mysore and Vanavasi. In 1004 A.C., he destroyed Mānyakheṭa and annexed a large part of the Cālukya dominions. The Cālukyas had to transfer their capital to Kalyāṇi, or Kalyāṇapura, forty-eight miles to the north-east of their old capital, and hence in history came to be known as the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. A little later the king of Keraḷa was also subdued.⁹

In the war against Jayasimha II, the Western Cālukya, in 1019 A.C., Bhoja was supported by Rājendra Cōla. In the Tamil praśasti of Rājendra, which contains another aspect of the war against Jayasimha, it is thus described :—“(He captured) the seven and a half lakhs of Raṭṭapāḍi (which was) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the

inestimable reputation of Jayasimha, who out of fear and to his great disrepute turned his back at Muṅga and hid himself."¹⁰

In 1017 A.C., he conquered Ceylon and all the islands on the south-coast of India. In a brilliant digvijaya in the east, he captured Cakrakoṭa, subdued Kalinga, defeated Indraratha, the Kesarī king of Yayātinagara, and conquered Orissa, Mahākosala and Daṇḍabhukti, modern Murshidabad district. He also defeated Dharmapāla of Assam, Raṇasūra of Kāmarūpa, Govindacandra of Rāḍha and Mahipāla of North Bengal. He seems to have set up a nominee even to rule Kanauj and took the title of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōla (conqueror of the Ganges). Rājendra then turned his attention to the transmarine countries of Java and Sumatra and subdued them. Malaya was also annexed as part of his empire.

III

On Vākpati Muṅja's death in 997 A.C. Sindhurāja styled Kumārānārāyaṇa and Navasāhasāṅka came to the throne of Dhārā. The *Prabandhas* speak of a feud between Muṅja and his brother Sindhurāja, while Padmagupta, the court poet, who wrote the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* with Sindhurāja as the hero, refers to his patron as having been appointed the successor by Muṅja himself. "When in the course of time", says the poet, "(Muṅja) departed for the city of Ambikā's husband (heaven), he (Muṅja) placed the world in his (Sindhurāja's) arm, which was marked by scars of bow-string."¹¹ This is also supported by the Udayapur praśasti.¹² Why Muṅja placed his brother Sindhurāja on the throne and gave small principalities like Abu to his own sons,—provided the identification of Vākpati Paramāra, the founder of the Abu line, with Muṅja is accepted,—is difficult to understand. But it is likely that when Muṅja left for Kaṇṇāṭaka on his last campaign, he might have left his brother Sindhurāja in charge of Ujjayinī, which he made his capital; and on Muṅja's death in Mānyakheta, he took possession of the throne giving small principalities to the sons of Muṅja.

Sindhurāja in spite of the high praise given by Padmagupta had scarcely the ability or the personality of his brother. The achievements to his credit do not go beyond attempts to subdue refractory feudatories. The theme of *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* is the victory won by Sindhurāja over the king of some non-Āryan tribe in the Chanda district of the modern Central Provinces. The story ends by the king marrying Śaṣiprabhā, the daughter of the Nāga king Saṅghapāla.¹³ He also subdued the Paramāra feudatory of Vāgaḍa,¹⁴ the king of Murala,¹⁵ Goggirāja of Lāṭa,¹⁶ the king of Kosala¹⁷

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 245.

¹¹ NC, XI, 98 : पुरं कालक्रमात् तेन प्रस्थितेनाम्बिकापतेः । मौर्वीकिणाङ्गवत्यस्य पृथ्वी दोष्ण निवेक्षिता ॥

¹² Appendix D, vs. 16.

¹³ NC, XVIII, vss. 46-55.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* X, 15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 17.

and the king of Hūṇas.¹⁸ His defeat of the king of Keraḷa is pure rhetoric, unless it means some skirmish with a southern king. He also succeeded in subduing Kokkala II, the Kalacuri king of Dāhala, who appears to have declared independence after the death of Muṇja.¹⁹ But the whole of the mainland of modern Gujarat continued to form part of the dominions of the Second Empire of Gūjraradeśa under him. Hemacandra and Merutuṅga, with their partiality for the kings of Pāṭaṇa give a one sided story, but there is little doubt that even on their testimony the Cālukyās of Pāṭaṇa were his vassals.

The successors of Mūlarāja till the accession of Bhīma were Cāmuṇḍa (996-1009 A.C.), his son Vallabharāja (6 months) and another son Durlabharāja (1009-1022 A.C.). Cāmuṇḍa could not extend his dominion beyond the Sārasvata and the Satyapura maṇḍalas, which formed part of his father's heritage. He attempted to throw off the suzerainty of Sindhurāja but was not successful. Sindhurāja even advanced on Pāṭaṇa, but ultimately withdrew.²⁰

On another occasion also Sindhurāja seems to have punished Cāmuṇḍa for some refractoriness. According to the *Prabandhas*, in his declining years even Cāmuṇḍa was dissolute, and his sister Cāciṇidevī got him removed from the throne. Cāmuṇḍa then started for a pilgrimage to Benares, but on the way Sindhurāja deprived him of the royal insignia. The truth underlying the story is of a defeat suffered by the king of Pāṭaṇa at the hands of the king of Malwa.

Cāmuṇḍa after this indignity returned to Pāṭaṇa and his son Vallabharāja prepared to proceed to invade Malwa. The Vadanagar praśasti records Vallabharāja's victory over Sindhurāja. "Densely dark smoke rising from the empire of the Mālava king, who quaked on hearing of his (Vallabharāja's) marching indicated the spread of the fire of his anger."²¹

Vallabharāja, however, died of small-pox in this campaign in c. 1009-1010 A.C. Merutuṅga²² and the Muslim chroniclers both give Vallabharāja, a reign of 6 months, but it is doubtful whether he ever reigned. Hemacandra testifies that Cāmuṇḍa put Durlabharāja on the throne and retired to Śukla-tīrtha, where he fasted unto death. Some of Cāmuṇḍa's inscriptions also omit the name of Vallabharāja. Cāmuṇḍa's reign, therefore, was spent in an unsuccessful series of attempts to throw off Sindhurāja's allegiance.

It is difficult to say how long Sindhurāja ruled. Merutuṅga assigns "fifty-five years, seven months and three days"²³ to the reign of Bhoja. The earliest known date of Bhoja's successor Jayasīṃha is 1055 A.C. In

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 14.

¹⁹ *EI*, II, 5.

²⁰ Appendix E, vs. 6; Jayasīṃha in his *Kumarāpālacarita* states that Cāmuṇḍa killed Sindhurāja. This in view of the Vadanagar praśasti of Kumārāpāla (App. E.) is a fiction.

²¹ Appendix, E. vs. 7.

²² *PC*, 20.

²³ *Ibid.* 22 : पञ्चाशत् पञ्चवर्षाणि मासाः सप्त दिनत्रयम् । भोक्तव्यं भोजराजेन सगौडं दक्षिणापथम् ॥

view of this, Bhoja's accession may be considered to have taken place in c. 999 A.C. But the epigraphic evidence point to the year 1010 A.C. as about the time when Bhoja succeeded Sindhurāja.²⁴

IV

In c. 1010 A.C. came to the throne of Dhārā, Bhoja, the son of Sindhurāja by the queen Ratnāvalī, one of the most versatile kings in history. He made a magnificent attempt to carry forward the tradition of imperial Gūjaradeśa, but overwhelmed by the disintegrating forces of the time, failed.

An interesting story is told about the relations between Bhoja and his uncle. The astrologers once came to Muñja Vākpati and prophesied that Bhoja, the son of his brother Sindhurāja, was destined to rule Dakṣiṇāpatha and Gauḍa for fifty-five years, seven months and three days. In order to prevent the succession of his nephew, Muñja ordered him to be killed. When on the point of being killed Bhoja sent a caustic message to his uncle.

"Māndhātā was the master of the Earth in the Kṛta Age but he passed away. Where is he gone, the king who successfully fought the ten-headed Rāvaṇa and built a bridge over the ocean? There were Yudhiṣṭhira and other mighty kings, but the Earth did not accompany them when they departed life; but perhaps, she might accompany you on your last journey."²⁵

The executioners did not like to kill such a gifted and lovable youth and sent the verse to Muñja. When Muñja read it, he relented, had Bhoja brought back unharmed, and treated him with great affection.

The important events during this period may be chronologically arranged as follows :

- c. 990 A.C. Sabuk-tigīn's war against the Brāhmaṇa Śāhis of Afghanistan.
- c. 996 A.C. Mūlarāja's death. Accession of Cāmuṇḍa.
- c. 997 A.C. Muñja's death.
- 997 A.C. Maḥmūd Yamin-ud-Daulah captures the throne of Ghazna.
- c. 999 A.C. Accession of Bhoja (according to Merutuṅga).
- 1010 A.C. Accession of Bhoja (according to epigraphic records).
- 1001 A.C. Maḥmūd's invasion of the Punjab ruled by Jayapāla, the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi king.
- 1004 A.C. Rajendra Cōla defeats the Cālukyās, their capital transferred to Kalyāṇi.
- 1012 A.C. The break-up of the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi kingdom.
- 1012 A.C. Rājendra Cōla's accession in Tanjore.

²⁴ *Paiyālacchī*, edited by BÜHLER, Introduction, 9.

²⁵ *PC*, 22 : मान्धाता स महीपतिः कृतयुगालङ्कारभूतो गतः, सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचितः कासौ नशा-
स्यान्तकः । अन्ये चापि युधिष्ठिरप्रश्रुतयो यावद्भवान् भूपते, नैकेनापि समंगता वसुमती मन्ये त्वया यास्याते ॥

- 1015 A.C. Jayasimha Cālukya's accession to the throne of Kalyāṇi.
 1018 A.C. Fall of Kanauj.
 1015-1019 A.C. Bhoja's war with Cālukya Jayasimha (First Cālukyan War).
 1019 A.C. Occupation of Koṅkaṇa by Bhoja.
 1020 A.C. January 3rd, Banswara²⁶ grant of land in Vaṭapadraka, modern Baroda, in Ghāgradorabhoga of Sthalimaṇḍala, given on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory over Koṅkaṇa. Bhoja is styled Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara.
 1020 A.C. September. Betma grant²⁷ (Betma is near Indore) given by Bhoja on the occasion of the anniversary of the occupation of Koṅkaṇa. The village granted was Nālatāḍaga modern Nar in the Kaira District in Gujarat included in the Nyāyapadra Saptadaśaka (modern Napad) in the same district.
 1022 A.C. Maḥmūd made peace with Vidyādhara Candella and withdrew from the Gangetic valley.
 1022 A.C. Ujjayinī grant of Bhoja.²⁸
 1022 A.C. Durlabharāja's death. Bhīma's accession to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa.
 1022 A.C. Depālpur grant (near Indore) of Bhoja.²⁹
 1025 A.C. Maḥmūd's invasion of Somanātha.
 1026 A.C. Bhīma's re-occupation of Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha.
 1029 A.C. Radhanpur grant of 'Mahārājādhirāja' Bhīmadeva I of Aṇahilavāḍa.³⁰
 c. 1030 A.C. The reconstruction of the temple of Somanātha by Bhoja and Bhīma.
 1030 A.C. Mundaka grant of Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadeva.³¹
 1030 A.C. Al-Biruni records, that Bhojadeva was king of Dhārā.
 1032 A.C. Completion of Ādinātha temple at Abu by Vimala, the minister of Bhīma.
 1035 A.C. Bhoja's conquest of Tripurī.
 1034-35 A.C. British Museum image inscription of Bhoja.³²
 1036 A.C. Bhoja's conquest of Kanauj.
 Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadeva.³³
 1042 A.C. Second Cālukyan War. Jayasimha II, the Cālukya of Kalyāṇi, defeated and killed in battle by Bhoja.
 1043 A.C. Hansi, Thaneshwar and other places recovered by confe-

²⁶ *EI*, IX, 182.²⁷ *Ibid.* XVIII, 320.²⁸ *IA*, VI, 53.²⁹ *IHQ*, June, 1932, 305-15.³⁰ *IA*, VI, 193-94.³¹ *JEBRAS*, XX, 49.³² *Rūpam* (1924).³³ *IA*, XVIII, 108-10.

derate forces from the viceroy of Ghazna. Someśvara Āhavamalla succeeded to the throne of Kalyāṇi.

1044 A.C. Death of Rājendra Cōla.

1047 A.C. Tilakvada grant of Bhoja³⁴, found in the river-bed near Sankheda in the Baroda Prant.

Kalvan Plates³⁵ (undated) of Bhoja. The plates were found near Kalvan in the Nasik District, which as stated therein was ruled by 'the illustrious' Yaśovarman. He was 'in charge of Selluka Nagara and was enjoying 1500 villages through the favour of Bhoja.'

1055-56 A.C. Third Cālukyan War. Someśvara occupies Dhārā.

The Mandhata grant of Bhoja's son Jayasinha I.³⁶

1062 A.C. The Abu stone inscription of Bhīma's minister.³⁷

V

The death of Sindhurāja had left Malwa surrounded by hostile feudatories. It is likely that he died just after receiving a crushing defeat at the hands of the army of Pāṭaṇa. Vallabharāja then marched on Dhārā and defeated Bhoja. For the moment it appeared as if the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa had come to an end. But Bhoja even when a boy developed generalship.

Durlabharāja, who ruled Pāṭaṇa from 1009 A.C. to 1022 A.C., did not succeed in extending his dominions beyond those his father had inherited from Mūlarāja. He is recorded to have defeated the Cālukya king of Lāṭa, but it appears to be a stray skirmish. Lāṭa remained independent, to be soon subdued by Bhoja. Durlabharāja, however, strengthened his position by marrying the sister of the Cāhamāna king Mahendra, the son of Balirāja, of Naddūla. His personal character stood high. He 'coveted neither the wives of others, nor the wealth of the Brāhmaṇas', and was the first Cālukya who admitted Jain Śādhus to his court at Aṇahilavāḍa. He continued to be a feudatory of Bhoja, who from the first enjoyed the status of a suzerain.

Bhoja soon proved to be a great military leader. In addition to the hereditary Kṣatriya forces, he organised a standing army. He realised the dangers in which he stood and decided to make a heroic effort to revive the strength of Gūrjaradeśa. He next made friends with Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya (1010-1042 A.C.), the Kalacuri king of Tripurī. Possibly with his aid he repelled the invasion of Indraratha of the Kesari dynasty, the powerful king of Yayātinagara or Ādinagara in Orissa.³⁸ It was Bhoja's first combat with a powerful king; and the young hero inflicted a defeat on Indraratha.

³⁴ *Proceedings and Transactions of the first Oriental Conference, Poona (1919), 319.*

³⁵ *EI*, XIX, 69.

³⁶ *Ibid.* III, 4c

³⁷ *Ibid.* IX, 148.

³⁸ Appendix, D, vs. 19; Ādinagara may be modern Mukhlingam in the Ganjam District in the Province of Madras.

He also defeated a king Goggala, an unidentified king, unless it be Goggi-rāja of Lāṭa ; but he was possibly dead long before.

Having rendered his eastern frontier safe, he made an alliance with Rājendra Parakesarī, the emperor of the South. Strengthened by this great diplomatic triumph, he invaded the dominions of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. First, he marched to the west to suppress the revolt of Kirtirāja, the Cālukya feudatory of Lāṭa, who on Muñja's death had chosen to ally himself to his old chief. The rebel was vanquished ; Lāṭa was subdued.³⁹ Bhoja then marched on Aparājita or Ari Kesarī, the Śilāhāra king of Koṅkaṇa, the most formidable feudatory of the Western Cālukya Jayasimha II. The Śilāhāra king was supported by his suzerain, but the confederate forces of Bhoja, Rājendra Cōla and Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya were too powerful for Jayasimha. In one campaign, Jayasimha appears to have worsted Bhoja ; for it is stated in one of the Cālukyan inscriptions that Bhoja became 'a lotus to the moon', which was Jayasimha. "He searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederated forces of Mālava."⁴⁰ The campaign, however, ended in favour of the powerful confederacy. The final battle with Jayasimha II was fought in Koṅkaṇa. The king of Koṅkaṇa became a vassal of Bhoja and a part of the Cālukya dominions including the Nasik district was annexed to the empire of Bhoja. The 'illustrious' Yaśovarman, a feudatory, was placed in charge of Selluka Nagara near Kalyāṇi.

By 1019 A.C. Bhoja had performed prodigies of valour and statesmanship. He had driven away the strongest foe in the east ; attached the ambitious young Gāṅgeya to himself ; had established a firm alliance with the Cōla emperor of the South ; vanquished Jayasimha II, the Cālukya of Kalyāṇi ; and annexed a large part of his territory. The conquest of Koṅkaṇa was, therefore, a great event and was celebrated as such throughout Bhoja's empire every year. The Banswara grant recites that Bhojadeva at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa having worshipped Bhavānīpati, made the grant of the village of Vaṭapadraka, the modern village of Baroda in the Banswara State. Another grant of a village near Indore in Central India also records the same festival. In 1019 A.C., therefore, Bhoja was the unquestioned master of an empire, which included modern Gujarat.

IV

In the meantime Maḥmūd, the ruler of Ghazna, was spreading destruction in the North.

The story of India's resistance to Maḥmūd's insatiable ambition is an epic of undying heroism. Jayapāla, the Śāhi king, once of Afghanistan, had sent a stern message to Maḥmūd's father. "You have heard, and now know the heroism of the Indians. In difficulties, we fear neither death nor

³⁹ *Ibid.*; *EI* XIX 71 f; *IA* XII, 204.

⁴⁰ *IA*, V, 17.

destruction. In affairs of honour and renown, we would woo the fire like roast meat, the dagger like the rays of the Sun."⁴¹ The story of internal feuds in India is a myth. In c. 990 A.C., the rulers of Delhi and Ajmere, Vijayapāla of Kanauj (955-990 A.C.) and Dhaṅga, the Candella, sent men and money to help Jayapāla.⁴² But the battle was lost; and Jayapāla had to give up the dominions west of the Indus. Eleven years later in 1001 A.C., Maḥmūd again invaded Jayapāla's dominions, defeated him, and extracted tribute. Jayapāla had the proud soul of the hero of ideals. There were no chains which he did not know how to break. He gave up the crown, gave the legacy of resistance to his son, and courted the flames of the funeral pyre.

His son Ānandapāla did not pay tribute and Maḥmūd marched against him in 1004 A.C. Heroic Jayapāla's equally heroic son first parleyed and then refused submission. In the words of Uṭbi, 'he placed the hand of repulse upon the face of the Sultan's request, and took the road to stubbornness and obstinacy.'⁴³ Ānandapāla's land was plundered and burnt. He had to fly to Kashmir. His son was taken prisoner. But soon Maḥmūd was between two fires, the Turks under Ilak Khān, who had crossed the Oxus in Central Asia, and the Śāhis. Then the generous culture of Āryāvarta impelled Ānandapāla to send a foolish message to his ruthless foe offering assistance: "I have been conquered by you, but I do not wish another to conquer you."⁴⁴ The tragedy of it was that Maḥmūd took the assistance, defeated Ilak Khān, and with his victorious army turned on his generous ally in 1008 A.C. The conquest of India is the conquest of culture by those who lacked it. Ānandapāla faced his enemy with a powerful army, but in a heroic battle, he lost ground. The Punjab lay at the feet of Maḥmūd. In 1009 A.C. he plundered the temple of Nagarkot. In 1011 A.C. he desecrated the shrine of Cakrasvāmin at Thanesar. Ānandapāla, however, was still a rallying centre of resistance from Lahore. In c. 1012 A.C. he died, and was succeeded by his son Trilocanapāla. Maḥmūd, in spite of a treaty with his father, attacked him. Trilocanapāla fought with unflinching heroism.

"Trilocanapāla causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle resembled Śiva (trilocana) when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the Kalpa.

After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle this (prince), who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes pressing (around him).

When Trilocana (pāla) had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Cāṇḍālas, which (resembled clouds of) locusts."⁴⁵

He failed. The Śāhi power was shattered to pieces. For eight long

KY, 37.

IA, II, 13, 14.

⁴² TF, I, 18.⁴⁵ RT, Stein's Eng. Trans. I, 272-273,⁴³ KY, 327-28.

years from some obscure place, with the immortal faith of those whom death brings no defeat, Trilocanapāla harassed Maḥmūd. "The Hammīra did not breathe freely, thinking of the super-human powers of the mysterious Trilocanapāla."⁴⁶

It had taken over fifteen years for the ruthless Ghaznavite father and son to wipe the Śāhi power out of existence. And thus did Albiruni, the contemporary, sing their elegy :

"The Hindu Shāhiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."⁴⁷

In 1018 A.C., the Punjab having been annexed to his dominions in part, Maḥmūd crossed the Jumna and attacked the kingdom of Kanauj. Haradatta, a feudatory, submitted ; Kulacandra, another, when all his 50,000 warriors lay dead, killed himself and his wife with the same dagger. Mathurā was plundered. When the foreign army reached Kanauj, Rājyapāla, its king, was defeated, and fled. Kanauj was sacked and the descendant of the imperial Gūjaras became a vassal of the ruler of Ghazna.

But against this imbecile relic of imperial greatness rose a confederacy led by Vidyādhara (1019-1022 A.C.) Candra, the grandson of Dhaṅga, the most powerful king of the North. Vidyādhara killed Rājyapāla, the puppet of the foreign ruler, and consolidated the forces. Even Bhoja looked upon this king as his master in the art of war. "Bhojadeva together with Kalacuri Candra worshipped this master of warfare, full of fear like pupils."⁴⁸

In 1019 A.C. Maḥmūd marched to the Gangetic plains to give battle to Vidyādhara. There was an inconclusive engagement and Maḥmūd withdrew plundering wherever he went. In 1022 A.C. he again marched on Kālāñjara. Nandā, read also as Bida of Vidyādhara, "then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue in praise of the Sultān. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultan."⁴⁹ The panegyrical accounts by Muslim chroniclers yield the facts that after a long investment Maḥmūd could not capture Kālāñjara, and the campaign ended with mutual gifts and compliments. The roaring tiger had become a purring friend of Vidyā-

⁴⁶ RT, VII, 64-65.

⁴⁷ AI, II, 13.

⁴⁸ EI, I, 219-222, vs. 22.

⁴⁹ TA, 14, KZA, 79-80 ; I accept the identification of Nandā with Bīdā or Vidyādhara, as suggested by Dr. Ray (DHNI II, 688),

dhara. Maḥmūd returned and gave up his ambitions as regards the Gangetic valley.⁵⁰

Maḥmūd's invasions upto 1022 A.C. were really three wars. The first was directed against the Śāhis. It lasted for about eighteen years and ended in the annexation of most of the Punjab. The second was directed against Kanauj, which was successful, but resulted in no gains. The third was against Vidyādhara Candella and Maḥmūd gained nothing out of it. Vidyādhara had succeeded where the heroic Śāhis had failed. Later Muslim chroniclers have altered the aspects of these frustrated attempts into successful religious wars against holy shrines of India.

Frustrated in the east, the ambitious Sultan turned to Gūrjaradeśa.

V

In 1022 A.C. Bhīma, the son of Nāgarāja, the brother of Durlabharāja, by the queen Lakṣmīdevī, the daughter of the Cāhamāna of Naddūla, came to the throne of Pāṭāṇa. Nāgarāja was the youngest of the three sons of Cāmuṇḍa and had died before his two brothers.

Within two years of Bhīma's coming to the throne Maḥmūd invaded Somanātha. The episode based on Muslim chronicles of a later date finds an important place among that conqueror's achievements in all modern histories. But it requires to be carefully scrutinised. Al-'Uṭbī, the secretary of Maḥmūd and the author of the *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī*, writing in 1031 A.C., makes no reference to this raid. Al-Gardīzī writing his *Zainul-Akhbār* between 1049 A.C. and 1052 A.C. is the first to refer to it. Al-Baihaqī in the *Ta'rikh-i-Baihaqī mī*, a little later, makes only a distant reference to this expedition. A *Qaṣīda* attributed to Farrūkhi is stated to be contemporary. Detailed examination by competent scholars can alone finally settle the questions whether Al-'Uṭbī's book ends with the year 1020 A.C. as stated by some historian or with 1031 A.C. as stated by many; whether the references by Al-Gardīzī and Al-Baihaqī are interpolations; and whether the *Qaṣīda* of Farrukhi is authentic and contemporary. But in two centuries this expedition loomed so large in the imagination of the Muslim chroniclers as Maḥmūd's superhuman feat that its story was exaggerated out of shape. After Gardīzī's work the works dealing with it in an elaborate form are the *Al-Kāmil fī t-Ta'rikh* of Ibnu'l-Athīr and the *Mir'ātū'z-Zamān fī Tawārīkhī'l-A'yān* of Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzī, (Thirteenth Century). In later centuries new legends were further tacked on to this episode.

The indisputed facts, which militate against the episode as given by the later Muslim chroniclers, are many.

(1) In 1025 A.C., the kingdom of Gujarat as described by later Muslim chroniclers had not come into existence. Bhīma was just a vassal king ruling over Sārasvata and Satyapura maṇḍalas, and Kachha and parts of Saurāṣṭra.

⁵⁰ IA, 1908, 142.

(2) The continuity of life, political, economic and social, in these regions, remained unbroken between 1025 A.C. and 1030 A.C. when epigraphic records show Bhīma as well entrenched in authority over Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha and the two Maṇḍalas. His dominions had grown rich in money and architecture, for, it was in 1030 A.C., that his minister Vimāla built the world famous temples at Abu.

(3) Even an analysis of the episode as given by the early Muslim chronicles shows that Maḥmūd fared disastrously in this campaign. He had to escape through Kaccha, suffering untold hardships, pursued by the confederate army of Paramadeva.

Why is it that the authors of Gujarat from Hemacandra to Someśvara are silent over it ?

Two references of the sack of Somanātha are found in Jain works. The first reference is contained in a song in honour of the idol of Śrī Mahāvīra enshrined in Satyapura, modern Sachora, composed by one Dhanapāla. "The land of Śrīmāla was broken and so also Aṇahilvāḍa ; Candrāvātī was broken and also Saurāṣṭra ; Delvāḍa was broken and so was Somanātha. But the Vira of Satyapura, the delight of men's minds, remained unbroken."⁵¹ The evidentiary value of this poem depends on the assumption that it was composed by Dhanapāla, the poet, who lived at the court of Muñja and Sindhurāja. This assumption requires further evidence before being accepted. Dhanapāla, the poet of Dhārā, wrote his *Paīyālacchī* in 972 A.C. just after Siyaka II sacked Mānyakheta. He must have been in middle age then. But even giving him an age of 25 or 30 then, he would be 75 or 80 in 1024 A.C. The poet, therefore, must have written this song when he was still older. It would be surprising indeed that of all the literary men in Gujarat and Malwa who wrote on several historical subjects upto 1250 A.C., Dhanapāla, the poet, connected with the three Paramāra emperors alone should have broken the seal of silence on this event in a stray song. This itself raises a doubt as to Dhanapāla, the court poet of Dhārā, being the author of this song.

The other reference is found in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-tirth-kalpa*, composed in c. 1308 A.C., which gives the date of the sack of Gūrjara-deśa by 'Gajjaṇavī' as 1025 A.C.⁵² In this connection the revolutionary change in the method dealing with history employed by Someśvara in c. 1230 A.C. and Merutuṅga in c. 1300 A.C. may be noted. In seventy years the *Raghuvamśa* technique had come to be abandoned. The technique of Muslim chroniclers of providing dates, events and incidents, and adjusting them to suit the continuity of historical narrative or the character of the hero had been adopted. A scrutiny of this change in historical method

⁵¹ Jain Sāhitya Samśodhaka III, 1.

⁵² *Vividha-tirtha kalpa* (SfG) 29 : तओ अन्नया, अन्नो गजजणवई गुजजरं भंजिता तओ वल्लो पत्तो सब्बउरे दस सयइकासीए (१०८१) विक्कमवरिसे सिच्छराओ ।

leads to the inference that in the later half of the thirteenth century Merutuṅga and others were influenced by a new school of history, which presumably drew its inspiration from Delhi. It would not be, therefore, surprising if the historical legends of the Muslim chronicles relating to Gujarat freely circulated in camps of the Turks came to be accepted by the *Prabandhas*.

The episode requires an unbiassed investigation. But in no event can Maḥmūd's expedition of Somanātha be accepted as anything but a disastrous event for the invader.

According to the later orthodox Muslim authorities, reports came to Maḥmūd that far away in a corner of flourishing Saurāṣṭra there was a shrine, the greatest at which the idolators—Indians—worshipped, laved by the waters of the distant sea. From a distance of a thousand miles, the sacred Ganges supplied her holy water to the deity. A thousand Brāhmaṇas lived there a life dedicated to the service of the shrine. Ten thousand villages furnished it their annual income. There was no limit to its possessions of gold and diamonds. This fabulous magnificence of Somanātha fired both the avarice and the iconoclastic zeal of the Turkish conqueror.

The motive thus attributed is not consistent with the astuteness with which Sultan Maḥmūd, the broadminded, was unquestionably gifted. Later historians have attributed to him a religious zeal which is not supported by evidence. He was a great conqueror and wanted to found an empire, not to secure religious merit. He was catholic and cultured. He did not hate Indians as such; Indians found an honoured place at his court as in his army. A whole locality in Ghazna was set apart for them. Among his trusted generals were Indians. He was not a fanatic Muslim. He, no doubt, destroyed temples. They were easy to get at, holy places not being surrounded by fortresses, for, no Indian king had ever dreamt of destroying a shrine in the territory of his enemy. And the shrines in India provided easy loot. Wherever he went, he tried to subdue the ruler, to make him a vassal, to annex his territory as a part of his empire. He did so in the case of the Punjab, and of Rajyapāla of Kanauj. He had pushed to the east upto Kālañjara in the same hope. But the unbending resistance of Vidyādhara had made it difficult for him to establish anything in the nature of an empire in the Gangetic valley. In coming to the west, therefore, he was out to annex a new dominion. The loot of Somanātha was not, therefore, his prime or even a prominent motive.

It was a spectacular venture even if some of the details furnished by the Muslim chroniclers are accepted.⁵³ On the morning of Monday, October 18, 1025 A.C. Maḥmūd left Ghazna at the head of an army, which consisted of 30,000 regular cavalry. Elaborate preparations were made for food and water. 30,000 camels carried the supply of water; in addition,

⁵³ TKA, IX, 248.

each trooper was provided with two camels for carrying water for him. The invader rested at Multan, left it on November 26, and began his march through the desert. From Multan to Abu extends one vast, unfruitful waste of clay and sand. Across this desert, fiery as Gehenna itself, with destruction yawning at every step, marched this reckless host, jubilant with the hopes of the coming loot. Its master, untiring and fierce as the wind which inexorably blew over this untrodden wilds of nature, goaded it on to the ends of his ambition.

According to the *Qaṣīda*, Maḥmūd first captured the Ludrava pass close to the Ciklodara Mātā hill near Pālanpur.⁵⁴ By the end of December, he reached Pāṭaṇa. Bhīma was taken by surprise and withdrew into the fort of Kanthkot in Kaccha. Maḥmūd rested his army at Pāṭaṇa, replenished his stock water and provisions, and left it unscathed. The army of Pāṭaṇa met the invader at Mundher—Modhera—and was defeated.

Some thing more must have happened at this stage, which the Muslim chroniclers have omitted to mention.

Young emperor Bhoja had attained considerable strength. Bhīma of Pāṭaṇa was his vassal. Saurāṣṭra was ruled by the Ābhīra king Maṇḍalika, perhaps a feudatory of Bhīma. Anarta, Khetaka maṇḍala and the valley of the Mahī formed part of Malwa. The valley of the Sābarmatī was a part of Bhoja's dominion and so was Lāṭa. The story of Maḥmūd putting up a Dabishleem as a temporary ruler at Pāṭaṇa is a later legend. All these parts were rich. What was it that made Maḥmūd suddenly leave such an easy conquest of a rich country and turn further west into the peninsula? What were the forces of Śākambharī, Meḍapāṭa, Naddūla and Malwa doing when Maḥmūd was rushing on them with such a mighty force? The only possible explanation is that the confederate forces of old Gūrjaradeśa stood in a solid phalanx in defence of their land and Maḥmūd thought it wiser to proceed to Somanātha rather than risk a battle with them.

From Modhera, Maḥmūd marched on Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa looting Delvādā on the way. On January 6, 1026 A.C., he invested the fort of Somanātha. It was in charge of Maṇḍalika, the descendant of the Ābhīra Gṛharipu with whom Mūlarāja had fought. According to the early Muslim chronicles, the defenders fought with unabated heroism. At one stage, the army of the Turk entered the town but was driven out before eventide. On 8th a terrible battle ensued. 50,000 Indian warriors laid down their life in defence of their beloved shrine. Maḥmūd captured the fort, entered the temple sanctified by centuries of devotion, broke the liṅga to pieces, looted the temple and burnt it to the ground.⁵⁵

A sacred city like that of Somanātha armoured principally by the devo-

⁵⁴ MUHAMMAD NAZIM'S Paper on "Somnath Expedition of Mahmud" in *JRAS*, 1928, 235 f.

⁵⁵ ELLIOT, II, 249.

tion and reverence of the whole country was an easy prey to an army which had no religious scruples.

Maḥmūd could not enjoy the fruits of his lightning conquest of Somānātha. He could not have halted there beyond a month.

Kitab Zaimul-Akhhbār, the earliest source, gives the following account :

"From that place Maḥmūd turned back, and the reason was that Param Deo, who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and the Amir Maḥmūd feared lest this great victory might be spoiled. He did not come back by the direct way, but took a guide and marching by the way of Maṇṣūra and the bank of the Sihūn, went towards Multan. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jatts of Sind. Many animals and a large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multan."⁵⁶

Ibn ul-Athīr, writing two hundred years later, mentions the same reason of Maḥmūd's retreat, and corroborates Al-Gardīzī. "The Sultān raised his standard with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo one of the most powerful of the Rājās of Hindustān, had to be met on the way, he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all circumstances, he turned towards Multan by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations on route, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder, but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship, he reached Ghazni in the year 417 A.H. (1026 A.C.)"⁵⁷

This explains why Maḥmūd did not meet with any opposition while entering Kathiawar. The confederate forces of Paramadeva had trapped Maḥmūd in Kathiawar; and he had no chance of an escape except by a precipitate retreat through Cutch to Sind. Paramadeva, the king of the Hindus, was in the way. With the army of Paramadeva in hot pursuit of him he started retreating as fast as he could, plundering Kanthkot on the way.⁵⁸

Who was this Paramadeva, the leader of the confederate forces of Indian kings, whose army forced Maḥmūd to a hurried advance on Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa and to a hasty retreat through the desert? According to Al-Gardīzī and Nizām ud-Dīn, Paramadeva was 'the most powerful of the Rājās of Hindustan'.⁵⁹ Firishta later identified Paramadeva with Bhīma.⁶⁰ But Bhīma was the king of a small principality in 1025 A.C. which was not called Gujarat then. It is the later greatness of Pāṭaṇa which invested him with a retrospective importance unjustified by the actual dimensions of his dominions. Bhīma sought an asylum in the fort of Kanthkot in December; his army was defeated at the end of December; at the same time Paramadeva with his formidable army stood ready to finish

Pp. 86-87 of the Text.

DHNI, II, 961, also n. 1.

⁵⁷ TA, 15-16.

⁵⁹ n. 44, n. 45.

⁶⁰ TF, I, 57.

Maḥmūd once he was trapped. Before 1025 A.C. Bhīma's sway outside the Sārasvata and Satyapura maṇḍalas extended only to a part of Kaccha and perhaps Saurāṣṭra. He was only a Mahārājādhirāja, a vassal of Bhoja, who even before 1019 A.C. was Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara exercising imperial sway over Ānarta, Kheṭaka, Lāṭa, Bhīma's dominions and even southern Rajputana. Dr. Bhagwanlal's identification of Bhīma with the obscure Paramāra of Abu is still wider of the mark. Paramadeva, therefore, can only be Bhoja, a corruption of either Paramāradeva or of Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Bhojadeva. Bhoja had a regular army and he is credited with having defeated the Turks.⁶¹ The temple of Somanātha was rebuilt by Bhoja according to the Udayapur praśasti,⁶² and by Bhīma according to the praśasti of Bhāva Brhaspati,⁶³ and therefore jointly by both Bhoja and Bhīma.

Maṇḍalika, the Ābhīra ruler of Somanātha, was also among the confederate princes who pursued Maḥmūd's army. Maḥmūd could not withstand the onslaught. The *Tārīkh-i-Soraṭh* states that the Muslim army did not make a stand but fled. It was a rout.

"Shah Maḥmūd took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers of both sexes were captured. . . . Turks, Afghans and Mughal female prisoners, if they happened to be virgins, were accepted as wives by the Indian soldiers. . . . The bowels of the others, however, were cleansed by means of emetics and purgatives, and thereafter the captives were married to men of similar rank." "Low females were joined to low men. Respectable men were compelled to shave off their beards, and were enrolled among the Shekavat and the Wadhel tribes of Rajputs; whilst the lower kinds were allotted to the castes of Kolis, Khantas, Babriās and Mers."⁶⁴ The *Devala Smṛti* was in active practice.

Muslim chroniclers corroborate the fact that fever and thirst paralysed the bulk of the army. It was trapped into waterless regions. A large part of the army and most of the beasts of burden perished on the way. At last Mansūra in Sind was reached. The formidable army exultant with confidence which Maḥmūd had led against Gūrjaradeśa, returned thinned in numbers, drooping in spirit. Ultimately, Maḥmūd after a short halt at Multan, reached Ghazna on April 2, 1026 A.C. This expedition was a disastrous end to a brilliant series of raids. Maḥmūd gave up his intentions on India thereafter.

The later panegyrists of Ghazna loved to sing of this episode as a great feat of Maḥmūd when after two hundred years it had come to be invested with fanciful details.

A wave of righteous hatred against the vandal swept over the whole of North India. The grim defiance with which Jayapāla and Ānandapāla

⁶¹ Appendix D, vs. 19.

⁶² *Ibid.* vs. 20.

⁶³ *JBRAS*, XIII, 59; *WZKM*, III, 1-19.

⁶⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Soraṭh*, Trans. by Ranchodji Amarji, Bombay, 1882, 112.

faced Maḥmūd only reflected the mood of a country. Al-Biruni in his *Indika* in 1030 A.C. attests to the fanatic hatred felt by the Indians against the mleccas. "Maḥmūd" says Al-Biruni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed there wonderful exploits by which Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish of course the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."⁶⁵ And no wonder this sympathetic scholar found the victims of his patron Maḥmūd's generous destructiveness, "haughty, foolishly vain, self-contained and stolid." "The Hindus believe" complains the author, "that there is no country like theirs. no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no science like theirs."⁶⁶ And proud India had risen to resist the onrushing forces of sacrilege and destruction which threatened their land.

Al-Biruni's geographical details throw considerable light on the disintegration which had overtaken the land within a century of Rājasekhara. Kanauj was still the centre of India from which all measures had to be taken, and was the capital of Madhyadeśa.

He first describes the places and countries to the south-east of Kanauj right upto Gaṅgāsāgara where the Ganges flowed into the sea, and again to the east to the mountains of Kāmarūpa stretching themselves to the sea. Travelling south-east from Kanauj was the kingdom of Jejābhukti, with its capital Khajurāho, where as we know the Candellas ruled; then Ḍāhala with its capital at Tripurī 'the ruler of which is now Gaṅgeya' as Al-Biruni notes.

"Marching from Kanoj towards the south-west, you come to Āsī, 18 farsakh from Kanoj; Sahanyā, 17 farsakh; Jandrā, 18 farsakh, Rājaurī, 15 farsakh; Bazāna the capital of Guzarat 20 farsakh. This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadūra."⁶⁷

Then follows the description of Malwa. Gujarat, therefore, was a geographical unit in 1030 A.C. whose location can easily be settled. Bazāna was 122 miles south-west from Kanauj; 100 miles north of Mewar, the capital of which was Jattaur, Chitorgadh; 240 miles north-east from Aṇahilavāḍa; 200 miles east from Multan.⁶⁸ The distances are approximate, but making all allowances, Gujarat would be somewhere about modern Jodhpur State.

VI

Bhīma was one of the leaders of the pursuing army and obtained a victory over the king of Sind. Hemacandra refers to the incident.

Once two spies came and told him "the rulers of Sindhu and Cedi cannot bear to see your glory. The ruler of Sindhu has engaged warriors

⁶⁵ *AI*, I, 22.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*,

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 202.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 205.

to kill you. He has also subdued the ruler of Śivaśāṇa. He has a powerful cavalry and can vanquish whom he wants. He corrupts your friends." Hearing this, Bhīma, after consulting his ministers, marched to the river Indus and built a bridge across it. Then he met Hammuka, the ruler, vanquished him, and put him in prison.⁶⁹

This conquest differs from the victories of Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa over the kings of Saindhava dynasty ruling Kathiawar. In this case actually the Indus was crossed. Such a feat of Bhīma is more likely while pursuing Maḥmūd's army at the head of the confederate forces.

Bhīma no doubt emerged stronger through his conflict with Maḥmūd. In 1026 A.C., he had added Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha to his dominions. His grant of 1029 A.C. records that Bhīmadeva gave a village in Kaccha maṇḍala to Bhaṭṭāraka Ajapāla.⁷⁰ The Lekhaka is Vaṭeśvara, the son of Kāyastha Kāñcana, the Lekhaka of Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa. The Dūtaka was Mahāsandhivigrahika Śricāṇḍa Śarmā. This grant (1029 A.C.) and the completion of Ādinātha temple at Abu by his minister Vimala in 1032 A.C.⁷¹ prove that Bhīma's hold over Cutch and the region of Abu was complete. The temples which Vimala built at Abu and which are among the architectural wonders of the world are reputed to have cost eight crores of ṭaṅkas. The kingdom of Pāṭāṇa is not found stricken either by poverty or by a cultural break. This again could only be explained if Maḥmūd's was a mere raid frustrated by a confederacy of which Bhīma was a prominent leader.

Vimala, the son of Mahattama Vira, was as great a minister as a military chief. He is credited with having quelled a rebellion of Dhandhuka, the Paramāra king of Candrāvātī near Abu, though in fact it was a victory achieved by Bhīma himself. Vimala, according to the *Prabandhas*, is reputed to have subjugated twelve monarchs. The list is legendary.

With Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha and Ābu added to his patrimony, Bhīma had now become sufficiently powerful to raise his head against his suzerain. But the persistent feud between Malwa and Gujarat as equals spoken of in the *Prabandhas* is not a historical fact. Pāṭāṇa was not in Gujarat; and the history of the Paramāra emperors of Dhārā continued to be the political history of the largest part of the old Gūrjaradeśa including modern Gujarat.

When Bhīma was busy with his campaign in Sind, Bhoja sent an army under Kulacandra, who stormed Pāṭāṇa and asserted the suzerainty of his master by sacking it. Bhīma submitted. Friendship was soon restored on account of the diplomatic skill of Ḍāmara or Dāmodara, the sandhivigrahika of Bhīma. Ḍāmara thereafter continued to be a representative of Pāṭāṇa at the imperial court of Bhoja. The sack of Pāṭāṇa can be placed between 1026 A.C. and 1039 A.C., nearer to 1027 A.C. It cannot be placed very much later, because Ḍāmara was at the court of Bhoja for several years before

the incident of 1038-39 A.C., when he instigated Bhoja to invade the South. Dāmodara or Dāmara was a prince of ambassadors and his wisdom, which passed into a proverb still current in modern Gujarati,⁷² prevented any break in the friendly relations between Bhoja and Bhīma for two decades.

VII

Bhoja's position as the most powerful emperor in the North improved considerably as a result of the successful effort made to drive out Maḥmūd. North India recovered its self-confidence and Bhoja was looked upon as the Cakravartin of the North, though he was not so in fact.

Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya (c. 1010-1041 A.C.), the Kalacuri king of Tripurī, was not happy with the position which Bhoja had acquired, and shook off his suzerainty. The emperor, thereupon, invaded Gāṅgeya's dominions, occupied his capital Tripurī and "fulfilled his desires in a festival which was the defeat of Gāṅgeya."⁷³ Gāṅgeya continued to be a vassal of Bhoja during his life-time.

Hemacandra refers to Bhīma of Pāṭaṇa as having invaded Cedideśa after vanquishing several princes on the way. When Bhīma reached Cedi, says he, the king bought peace, the price of which was a gold meru, a temple of gold.⁷⁴ Between 1030 and 1041 A.C. when Gāṅgeya died, Bhīma could not have invaded Cedi except as a feudatory of Bhoja. In 1041 A.C. Gāṅgeya's son, Karṇa, came to the throne of Tripurī and soon became one of the most powerful kings in India of the time. Bhīma could not, therefore, have vanquished him. On the contrary, from 1042 A.C. Bhīma was as an associate of Karṇa, who by 1044 A.C. was the leader of a powerful confederacy which included Bhīma. It is clear, therefore, that Bhīma took part in Bhoja's victory over Gāṅgeya, as a feudatory.

Maḥmūd died in 1030 A.C. Except for parts of the Punjab which were annexed to the dominions of Ghazna India was free from foreign aggression. Bhoja, therefore, turned his attention to the consolidation of old Gūrjara-deśa. In c. 1036 A.C., he marched against Yaśapāla, the last of the Pratihāras, who held a precarious sway over a small territory. The Kacchapaghāta king of Dubkund, Abhimanyu, submitted to Bhoja.⁷⁵ But he had a set-back at the hands of Kīrtirāja, the Kacchapaghāta of Gwalior, on whom a defeat was ultimately inflicted.⁷⁶ After Bhoja had occupied Kanauj, the line of the imperial Pratihāras vanished from history and the banner of Bhoja flew where once was flown the banner of another imperial Gūrjara, Bhoja the Ādivarāha.

⁷² "ડાહો કમરો" Wise like Dāmara.

⁷³ *EI*, VIII, 101, vs. 3, Line 2, *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana.

⁷⁴ *DV*, IX, vss. 57-58 : સંકુલક્રીતિં ભોજસ્ય સ્વર્ણવૃણ્ડપિકામિમામ્ । શ્રીવાસોત્કુલપદ્મામાં હરાપરિકુશશ્રિયમ્ ॥ ઉદ્વેશ નાયયોલ્લવવદ્ધિઃ પ્રક્ષીબિતેતરૈઃ । મેરુભિત્તયા વિત્તં સ્વર્ણવિત્તમુપાયનમ્ ॥

⁷⁵ *EI*, II, 237-38.

⁷⁶ *IA*, XV, 36, vs. 10.

Bhoja proceeded further north and reduced Sāhavāhana or Sālavāhana, the king of Camba, to vassalage.⁷⁷ One of the kings subdued was Joggala, who is difficult to identify.⁷⁸ Viryavarmā, the Cāhamāna of Śākambhari also became a feudatory.⁷⁹ In one encounter the Cāhamāna Aṇahilla of Naddūla defeated his army and killed his general Sādha in battle.⁸⁰ But Naddūla soon submitted. Bhoja was already the master of Medapāṭa and in possession of Citrakuṭa.⁸¹

Jayasimha II, the Cālukya of Kalyāṇi, appears to have taken advantage of the absence of Bhoja in the north. The legend preserved by Merutuṅga says that Bhoja wanted to break with Bhīma; possibly Bhīma was getting very ambitious and making love to Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgeya. But the wise Ḍāmara, Bhīma's minister at Dhārā, diverted the attentions of Bhoja from Gujarat by getting a drama performed in which Muṇja's death at the hands of Tailappa II was staged.

One of the scenes of the drama was laid in a prison.

Tailappa has secured for himself a comfortable corner. A king newly vanquished by Bhoja arrives on the scene and asks Tailappa to give up the corner he is occupying. Tailappa replies "This is my heritage, from my great forefathers. Shall I resign it to you who arrived but yesterday?" Bhoja is pleased with the flattery and turns to Ḍāmara for a compliment stating that it was a witty play. Ḍāmara replies, "The wit is there, no doubt, but this fool of Tailappa holds the head of your uncle fixed on a stake." Stung to the quick, Bhoja gave up the intention of invading Gujarat and invaded Karṇāṭaka. The legend has little factual value, but there is no doubt that in c. 1042 A.C. Bhoja invaded Karṇāṭaka, vanquished Jayasimha II who was getting restive and put him to death.⁸² Bhīma also helped Bhoja in this expedition, and so did Rājarāja Cōla from the south.⁸³

The *Bhoja-carita* connects this episode with Tailappa. This is chronologically impossible, because Tailappa died before the accession of Bhoja. The Cālukya could not be Vikramāditya (1008-1014 A.C.), Tailappa's grandson, for Bhīma, who came to the throne in 1022 A.C., is connected with this expedition.

VIII

In 1043 A.C., a great confederacy was formed. The king of Delhi, Aṇahilla, the Cāhamāna of Naddūla, Someśvara, the Western Cālukya of

⁷⁷ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona*, (1919) 324.

⁷⁸ Appendix, D, vs. 19.

⁷⁹ *PV*, V, 67: अगम्यो यो नरेन्द्राणां सुधादीधितिसुन्दरः । जप्रे यशचयो यश्च भोजेनावन्तिभूभुजा ॥

⁸⁰ *EI*, IX, 75.

⁸¹ *WZKM*, XXI, 142 ff.

⁸² *PC*, 31; As to the discussion, whether it was Jayasimha whom Bhoja put to death or his successor Vikramāditya, see BHANDARKAR R.G., *Early History of the Deccan*, 61; OJHA, *History of the Solankis*, I, 87; *IA*, XLVIII, 118, n. 54; for Jayasimha having repelled Bhoja before 1028 A.C., see *EI*, XV, 330.

⁸³ *C*, I, 245.

Kalyāṇi, the Kalacuri king Karṇa and Bhīma of Pāṭaṇa were members of the confederacy.⁸⁴ Bhoja also joined it, and if he did, he alone of all the others could be its leader; they could not come together otherwise. The confederacy wrested Hansi, Thaneshwar and other places in the north from the viceroys of the Yamini kings of Ghazna.⁸⁵

This was the highest point in the brilliant military career of Bhoja. His imperial sway extended from Camba and Thaneshwar in the north, to the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadra in the south, and from Dwarka to Kanauj. Among his feudatories were not only the kings of Camba, Dubkund, Śākam-bhārī, Naddūla, Meḍapāṭa, Pāṭaṇa with its vassals of Kaccha and Sau-rāṣṭra, Lāṭa and Koṅkaṇa, but also Gāṅgeya and his son Karṇa of Cedi, Cālukya Jayasimha II and his son Someśvara of Kalyāṇi. He was also the master of imperial Kanauj, no longer the seat of an empire. The old Gūrjaradeśa had been for the time being brought together. The only other emperor in the country who could rival him, Rājārāja, the Cōla of Tanjore, held the territory south of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadra, the east coast districts and the whole of Orissa, parts of Bengal and Assam in vassalage, and was on terms of cordial friendship with him. Above all Bhoja had helped in driving out the mlecchas from the land.

The Udaipur praśasti claims that he possessed the earth from Kailāsa to the Malaya hills and from the setting to the rising Sun.⁸⁶ There is no doubt that the epithet Sārvabhauma applied to him was fully justified.

Neither Muṇja, nor his father Sindhurāja had left him a consolidated empire as did Nāgabhaṭa II to Mihira Bhoja. When Muṇja met his end at Mānyakheta, the empire of Malwa had collapsed. Sindhurāja, his successor, retained only a precarious hold over the small feudatories of outlying parts. With Malwa only as his patrimony, Bhoja built a great empire. Although it did not include Sind and considerable parts of the Punjab, Magadha and Bengal as did the empire of Mihira Bhoja, unlike his namesake's empire it extended in the south far beyond the Narmadā upto the Kṛṣṇā. Mihira Bhoja had to work on the steady efforts of four powerful ancestors, all of whom were empire-builders—Nāgabhaṭa I, Devarāja, Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II. Bhoja had practically to rebuild what had crashed in 995 A.C. The ancestors of Mihira Bhoja being the first Kṣatriya clan to rise to imperial power earned the hereditary loyalty of the other clans whose fortunes they had founded. But Gūrjaradeśa had lost its cohesion, when Bhoja succeeded to the throne. Disintegrating forces had been at work. Localisation of Kṣatriya tradition had fragmented North India, which was once Āryāvarta. Nor like Mihira Bhoja, had he a compact Gūrjaradeśa as his homeland. His homeland was Malwa from modern Kotah to the Narmadā, from the mouth of the Mahi to Bhilsa. The fragments of old Gūrjaradeśa, Gujarat, Meḍapāṭa, Naddūla, Śākam-bhārī, Gwalior, Delhi, Abu,

⁸⁴ *TF*, I, 118.⁸⁵ *CHI*, III, 32, 33.⁸⁶ Appendix, D, vs. 17

each had a ruler, who could not subordinate his kingly ambition to hierarchic contentment. They had no loyalty towards the imperial throne as under the First Empire but only grudging and restive submission which waited impatiently for the first sign of central weakening.

When Mihira Bhoja came to the throne, the Pratihāra power in Kanauj was the biggest factor in north India. When Bhoja began his career, Malwa had lost its gains to the Cālukya power of Kalyāṇi and was not in any way superior to the Kalacuri power at Tripurī or the Candella power at Khajurāho. Above all, Mihira Bhoja was an heir to a strength, which had kept the Arabs at bay from the days of Nāgabhaṭa I. When Bhoja came to the throne, one of the greatest military leaders in history with his ruthless hordes had started laying waste the whole of India. Future research will perhaps show how the collapse of the Yamīnī ambition after 1024 A.C. was largely due to the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa which Bhoja had built.

To have been the head of three confederacies; one to destroy the Cālukyas of the south, the other to drive Maḥmūd away in 1024 A.C. and the third to recover part of the North from the Yamīnī viceroys were feats for which credit must go not only to the valour of Bhoja, but also to his statesmanship. All this achievement was performed in less than three decades from c. 1010 A.C. to 1043 A.C.

IX

In 1043 A.C., Bhoja must have been at least of fifty years, for if the legends contain any truth he must have been at least fifteen years old in 995 A.C. when Muṇja died. From his boyhood Bhoja had spent a strenuous life exhibiting a rare and versatile brilliance. He had a sure eye to magnificence. He was a great builder; greatest perhaps in the seven hundred years under review. A great devotee of Śiva, he built temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sundira, Kāla, Anala and Rudra.⁸⁷ The Bhojaśālā at Dhārā was not merely a college but a university. It had attached to it a temple dedicated to the goddess Sarasvatī, styled Sarasvatī Sadana or Bhārati Bhavan, "a meeting place of great poets, of scholars prominent in the three Vedas, of critics and accomplished men possessing great appreciation and taste coming from all quarters."⁸⁸ Profane hands later converted it into the Kamalmauli mosque; and the meuzin called from the proud monument of Bhoja's love of learning. The figure of Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of this temple, "is a *chef d'oeuvre* of rare beauty, in its exquisite serenity of pose, in its entrancing and balancing rhythm, in the elegance and sauvity of its equiline features, and in the general restrain in the treatment of the anatomy which is almost free from any exaggeration."⁸⁹

Close to the Sarasvatī Mandira was the large well still known as 'Akkal-Kui' or the "Well of Wisdom". Another memorial raised to

Ibid. vs. 20.

Rūpam; (January, 1924), 1.

⁸⁸ *EI*, VIII, 96 ff.

celebrate the victory of Bhoja over the Cālukyas of the Deccan and Gāṅgeya of Cedi has been converted into the Laṭ Masjid.⁹⁰ The old fortifications of Dhārā are also attributed to Bhoja. He also raised the fortress of Mandu or Maṇḍapadurga and established a college which housed several hundred students. He also built ghats and temples at Ujjayinī.

The great lake at Bhojapura, a town founded by him, of which the old dams stood till a few years ago, was also built by him. The Bhoja Sāgara now excavated by Kincaid had an extension of 350 square miles ; and was perhaps the most magnificent sweet water lake in the world.⁹¹ The whole of the Betwa valley was utilised for the purpose. On the bed of the lake now runs the Bhopal State Railway and is situate the village of Dip (Dvīpa), where pleasure-houses stood. Bhoja built a great town on its shores, the grandeur of which is testified to by the remains of a temple celebrated for its gigantic polished quartzite liṅga.⁹² Modern Bhopal is Bhoja's pāla (bund), which had a fort. There were large boat-houses from which the emperor and his retinue sailed out in pleasure-boats. Four hundred years later Saha Hussain destroyed the lake and on the grandeur which was Bhoja Sāgara are now littered villages.

Bhoja's efforts at erecting magnificent monuments knew no geographical bounds. He got erected a sacred tank at Kāpāleśvara in Kashmir and took a vow that he would always wash his face in water brought from this Pāpa-sūdan Tīrtha. Padmarāja, a betel-seller and a favourite of Ananta, the contemporary king of Kashmir, made the fulfilment of Bhoja's vow possible by regularly despatching large number of jars filled with the holy water from this tīrtha.⁹³ The remains of the enclosure which the emperor constructed to collect the waters of the sacred spring are still extant. "The latter now rises" says STEIN, "in a circular tank of at least 60 yards in diameter, which is enclosed by a solid stone wall, and by steps leading to the water. . . . From the formation of the ground, it is evident that this tank has been formed by closing artificially the gully in which the spring rises on the hill-side."⁹⁴

In taste and temperament Bhoja was the child of Ujjayinī, the twin of Vārāṇasī as the home of culture. It was also the home of romance and literature, the cultural fountain source of Gūrjaradeśa. Though nominally outside the strict geographical boundaries of the deśa it was for all practical purposes within it ; under Muñja and Bhoja the city reached the climax of its cultural renown as once it reached when Vikramāditya ruled and Kālī-dāsa sang.

In the days of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā was the capital ; but Avanti or Ujjayinī, was the capital of one of the confederate

⁹⁰ *JBRAS*, XXI, 347.

⁹¹ *IA*, XVIII, 35.

⁹² *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VIII, 121.

⁹³ *RT*, VIII, 190-193.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* STEIN's note.

clans of Avantis. Arjuna's son Jayadhva transferred the capital of the Haihayas from Māhiṣmatī to Ujjayinī. It was later the capital of the Bhojas, a branch of the Yādavas, and was almost a rival of Pāṭaliputra in the 6th century B.C. The fiery Pradyota, the father of Vāsavadattā, the heroine of Bhāsa's play of the name, ruled there. As Kālidāsa puts it : " Here Vatsarāja carried off the beloved daughter of Pradyota ; here too there was the golden garden of tāla belonging to that very king ; here indeed roamed the elephant Nalagiri (a furious elephant given, according to legend, to Pradyota by Indra) uprooting his post in madness ; with these stories well-informed persons divert their relatives who come on a visit to this place."⁹⁵

In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, we have the picture of Ujjayinī during the time of Āryaka, the grandson of Pradyota. But the vivid picture given by Sūdraka and Kālidāsa of the life of the city points to the fact that it was from early days the home of learning and fashion. According to Kālidāsa, the women of Ujjayinī were noted for side-glances as dazzling as the flashes of lightning. The perfume from their hair escaped from its windows and pet peacocks danced in its palaces.⁹⁶

It was no less a home of learning than of religious dialectics. Buddhism gained a firm ground in the countryside. Aśoka himself as a Yuvarāja ruled over Ākāravanti of which the capital was Vidiśā, modern Bhilsa, and the Śuṅga emperor Puṣyamitra, who succeeded the Mauryas, ruled from that capital. It may, however, be presumed that Ujjayinī continued to be the home of high learning and religious training. Under the Śungas, Malwa was a famous centre of religion, for Heliodoros, a Greek Vaiṣṇava, erected a stone pillar in front of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu during the reign of Bhāgabhadra, the last of the Śuṅga kings.⁹⁷ Ujjayinī also was the centre of Jainism during this period.

In the first century before Christ the Scythian satraps, when they acquired western India, ruled from Ujjayinī as their capital. The Western Kṣatrapas ruled over what was the old empire of Sahasrārjuna from Ujjayinī for over 400 years, which as stated before comprised of modern Gujarat, Rajputana and Malwa. Candragupta, the great Gupta emperor, who ultimately came to the throne as Vikramāditya, captured Ujjayinī from the Kṣatrapas, and on coming to the throne made it the capital of the empire.

⁹⁵ *Meghadūta* (Pūrva), 32 : प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जहे, हैमं तालद्रुमवनमभूदत्र तस्यैव राज्ञः । अत्रोदध्नान्तः किल नलगिरिः स्तम्भमुत्पाद्य दपोदित्यागन्तून् रमयति जनो यत्र बन्धुनभिन्नः ॥

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 27, 34 : वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां, सौधोत्सङ्गप्रणयविमुखो मा स्म भूरुज्जयिन्याः । विद्युद्दामस्फुरितचकितैर्यत्र पौराङ्गनानां, लोलापाङ्गैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्विभितोऽसि ॥

जालोद्गोर्गैरुपचितवपुः केशशंस्कारधूपैर्वन्धुप्रीत्या भवनशिखिभिर्दत्तवृत्तोपहारः । हमेष्वस्याः कुसुम-सुरभिष्वल्लेदं नयेथाः, पश्यन् लक्ष्मीं ललितवनितापादरागाङ्घ्रितेषु ॥

⁹⁷ *ASR*, (1908-09), 125.

Ujjayinī then became the great centre from which radiated the cultural forces with which the golden age of the Guptas was associated in the 6th century A.C. Ujjayinī was also the capital of the Hūṇa conquerors Toramāṇa and his son Mihiragula. But their power was shortlived, for Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharmadeva destroyed it.⁹⁸

In about 500 A.C. on the death of Budhagupta the Gupta Empire broke up into Gauḍa and Magadha. Malwa also broke up into two ; East Malwa with its capital at Ujjayinī and West Malwa which extended upon to the river Mahi. But Ujjayinī continued to be the intellectual centre of the whole West. Yuan Chwang found a Brāhmaṇa ruling there in 641 A.C. The king was learned and the city had remained the home of learning.⁹⁹

In the first half of the eighth century as we saw before, Nāgabhaṭa I made it the capital of Gūrjaradeśa till his grandson shifted the seat of the empire to Kanauj.¹⁰⁰ Right till c. 950 A.C. it was in the possession of the imperial Gūrjaras and continued to radiate the literary and cultural influence. When Sīyaka II captured Ujjayinī, the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa reclaimed its soul.

The Paramāra kings from Muñja Vākpati downwards were as much the creatures as the creators of Ujjayinī and its greatness, for there has been no race of kings so learned and generous towards learning as the Paramāras who followed Vākpati. Sindhurāja, whose exploits Padmagupta described in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, made Ujjayinī his capital and Bhoja though he finally made Dhārā his capital was the heir of the learning and culture which had been eddying round Ujjayinī for over fifteen centuries.

Bhoja above everything was a literary man and a patron of learning. Kingship and conquest to him were a subsidiary activity, an instrument wherewith to serve the goddess Sarasvatī. His fame was not only contemporary ; it has survived last nine hundred years. He has been the universal standard for comparing any one who is generous towards literature. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* says : " He (kṣitipati) and king Bhoja, famous for their great liberality were at that moment both poets themselves and friends of poets."¹⁰¹ Mammaṭa in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* remarks, " It is the play of the Bhoja that, there is such richness in the mansions of the learned."¹⁰² Two hundred years later when Vastupāla had to be compared to a generous patron of learning the king Bhoja was referred to in these terms : " King Bhoja having gone to the world of the Sun and King Muñja having got the brilliant possessions of the heavens, Vastupāla alone is left to wipe off the tears of beggars."¹⁰³ That the high praise given to Bhoja was not mere rhetoric is clear from the universal testimony of succeeding ages.

⁹⁸ *CII*, III, 148.

⁹⁹ Chap. III, n. 8.

¹⁰⁰ *HR*, 180-81 ; *EHI*, 393, 428.

¹⁰¹ *IV*, 259.

¹⁰² *X*, 114 : यद्विद्वन्नेषु भोजनृपतेस्तत्यागलील्यितम् ।

¹⁰³ *ARB*, 286, 302.

Bhoja himself was a versatile literary man ; a polymath. His mastery over Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta was unchallenged. He invented metres. Whether all the works attributed to him were his own compositions or prepared under his supervision by others is uncertain. But he is mentioned as a writer on the *Dharmaśāstras* by Daśabala, a Buddhist writer, by Śūlapāṇi in the *Prāyascittaviveka* and by Allāḍanātha, Raghunandana and Vijñāneśvara. On medical subjects, he is quoted in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, and in Mādhava's *Rugviṇśaya* ; on Astronomy, by Keśavārka. As a grammarian and lexicographer he is mentioned by Kṣīrasvamī, Sāyaṇa and Mahīpa ; and is praised as a poet by Chittapa Diveśvara, Vināyaka, Śaṅkara Sarasvatī and Sarasvatī Kuṭumbaduhitṛ.¹⁰⁴

Like Hemacandra, the polymath of Gujarat of the next century, he did not leave a band of devoted pupils behind him who thought it their duty to hand down their master's works almost word perfect ; but a study of all the works attributed to Bhoja is sure to throw light on the unity of authorship of at least some of the works showing the extraordinary sweep and richness of the royal author.

The works attributed to Bhoja may be thus classified :

- I. Anthology ; (1) *Subhāṣitaprabandha*.
- II. Architecture ; (2) *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* ;
- III. Astronomy and Astrology : (3) *Ādityapratāpa-siddhānta* ; (4) *Rājamārtanḍa* (5) *Rājamṛgāṅka* (karaṇa) ; (6) *Vidvajjana-vallabha* (*praśnajiñāna*) ;
- IV. Dharmaśāstra, Rājadharmā and Polity ; (7) *Bhujabala* (*nibandha*) ; (8) *Bhūpālapaddhati* (9) *Bhūpālasamuccaya* (or *Kṛtyasamuccaya*) (10) *Cāṇakyanīti* (or *Daṇḍanīti*) ; (11) *Cārucaryā* ; (12) *Pūrtamārtanḍa* ; (13) *Rājamārtanḍa* ; (14) *Rājanīti* ; (15) *Vyavahārasamuccaya* ; (16) *Yuktikalpataru*.
- V. Grammar ; (17) *Śabdānuśāsana*.
- VI. Lexicography ; (18) *Nāmamālikā*.
- VII. Medicine ; (19) *Āyurvedasarvasva* ; (20) *Rājamārtanḍa* or *Yogasārasaṁgraha* ; (21) *Rājamṛgāṅka* (22) *Śālihotra* ; (23) *Viśrāntavidyāvinoda*.
- VIII. Music. (24) *Saṅgītaprakāśa*.
- IX. Philosophy (25) *Rājamārtanḍa* (Comm. on Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra*) ; (26) *Siddhāntasārapaddhati* ; (29) *Śivatattvaratna-kalikā* ; (30) *Tattvaparakāśa* (or *Śivatattvaparakāśikā*).
- X. Prākṛta Poems (31-32) *Kūrmasataka*, 2 vols.
- XI. Rhetorics : (33) *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* ; (34) *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.

- XII. Samskr̥ta Poetry and Prose : (35) *Campū Rāmāyaṇa* (36) *Mahākālivijaya* ; (37) *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* ; (38) *Vidyāvinoda*.

Among the literary men who flourished at his court were Dhanapāla, the author of the *Tilaka-mañjarī* ; one Kālidāsa, not the great one but another namesake, to whom are attributed *Nalodaya* and *Campū Rāmāyaṇa* ; Uvaṭa, a native of Ānandapura who wrote his *Mantrabhāṣya* on the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* of the Yajurveda at Ujjayinī ; and perhaps Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitōkṣarā*.

XI

Merutuṅga gives a number of anecdotes from which clearly stands out this extraordinary man. Above and beyond the conquests he achieved, apart from the rich magnificence with which he adorned shrines, rivers and homes of learning appears the sage comparable only to the royal sages Janaka Videhi and Marcus Aurelius. To him virtuous deeds were the only justification for life. As he got up every day he asked himself " What good can I do to-day ? " One of his sayings indicates the spirit of a Karmayogī.

" The sun will set in the western sky and take away with him part of life,

Men ask me daily ' what's the news to-day ? Are you quite hale and glad and fit ? '

How can we keep the body's health ? Is not our life departing day by day ?

Perform to-day the duty of tomorrow, the afternoon's before the noon ;

For death won't wait to see if you have done the duty of the day or no.

Is death now dead, Is old now decrepit, Are Life's disasters now destroyed ?

The rush of illness quite arrested, that all these men are lost in mirth ? "

Power, glory and wealth which came to him plentifully had no permanent value for him. In one of his verses he says :

" If I have not given my wealth to suppliants before the bright Sun does set in the west,

Can any one man that is living assure me to whom this my wealth will belong on the morrow ? "

On his bracelets were engraved certain memorable sentences :

" Uncertain by nature is human prosperity,
The time of possession is the time for bestowal ;
Misfortune is certain to reach you quite soon,
Too late to discover a chance for well-doing ? "

Bhoja had the outlook of a philosopher. He heard with indulgence Dhanapāla, a fanatic Jain, who condemned Vedic sacrifices and ridiculed Siva, the guardian god, whom he worshipped. Even the sacred cow did not escape the poet's pointed shaft. But the emperor smiled, followed his own way, and yet cherished Dhanapāla as a treasure.

XII

The emperor was getting old. His homeland was small though rich. He had no imperial hierarchs to maintain his power in the days of difficulty. His feudatories had been kept together by military might and a new storm of the first magnitude was rising on the horizon. In 1041 A.C., Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya, came to the throne of Tripurī. He was a young man fired with a mighty ambition and a general greater than his father. He reached out a friendly hand to Someśvara Āhavamalla, the son of Jayasīṃha II, the Western Cālukya of Kalyāṇi, whom Bhoja had killed. Someśvara was, for the moment, free from entanglement with the Cōlas in the South. Bhīma of Pāṭāṇa was also getting restive under the suzerainty of Bhoja, and even late in life was anxious to be independent. With three of his principal feudatories allying themselves against him, Bhoja had suffered reverses at the hands of Vidyādhara Candella, who had attained great power and who was assisted in this campaign by Kīrtirāja (1015-35 A.C.), the Kacchapaghāta ruler of Gwalior.¹⁰⁵ Later, a confederate force headed by Someśvara, Karṇa and Bhīma invaded Malwa and stormed Dhārā. The Cālukya ruler of Lāṭa, became independent and possibly joined the confederacy. Dhārā was sacked. Someśvara became a 'flame of doom to Bhoja'. This event happened between 1044-1051 A.C. when Trilocanapāla claims that his grandfather Goggirāja freed Lāṭa from the hands of the enemies.¹⁰⁶

The aged emperor was too great a figure in the country to be disposed of easily. He regained Dhārā, a tragic figure surrounded by the ruins of the greatness and power which he had built up so brilliantly.

The statement in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* that during his last days Bhoja was harassed by his enemies has an element of truth in it. All the feudatories of Malwa regained their independence. But soon there was a rift between Karṇa of Cedi and Someśvara Āhavamalla; and the aged emperor did not lose his imperial position till the end. The grant of Govindacandra already quoted confirms this when it says that when Śrī Bhoja and Karṇa (of Cedi) were dead the earth chose Candradeva, the Gāhaḍavāla king, as her lover and protector.¹⁰⁷

The emperor died in 1054 A.C. and on his death the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa was cracking. The Udayapur praśasti says: When the devotee of Bharga (Śiva) whose brilliance resembled the sun (i.e., Bhoja),

had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness. His foes and his hereditary warriors became infirm. Then arose king Udayāditya, another Sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword (and) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour."¹⁰⁸ The Nagpur praśasti corroborates this statement. "When he (Bhoja) had become the companion of Indra, and when the realm was in deluge, in which the sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who joined by the Karnaṭakas was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the Sacred Boar."¹⁰⁹

Many and varied were the memories which Bhoja left behind him. An inscription of Devapāla dated 1228 A.C. compares him with Śrī Kṛṣṇa :—

"There was a king, great like Karna's conqueror, an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhojadeva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army. When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings."¹¹⁰

Bilhaṇa, though a poet at the rival court of the Western Cālukyas, spoke of him in graceful terms :—

"Bhoja was the lord of the earth, and not, indeed, comparable to vulgar kings. Woe is me!" Dhārā cried to him (i.e. Bilhaṇa) through the voice of the pigeons nesting on the lofty towers of her gates : "Why didn't thou not come into his (Bhoja's) presence?"¹¹¹

Even during his lifetime his name passed into history as an ideal. Popular imagination enshrined him in the proverb *Kyāñ Rājā Bhoja ane Kyāñ Gāṅgeya ane Telaṅgana*. "How exalted is king Bhoja how low Gāṅgeya and Telaṅgaṇa" It is now corrupted into 'how exalted is king Bhoja and how low is Ganga teli (oilman).'

Bhoja had the brilliance but not the impetuosity of his uncle Muṇja. He had his share of failures. But it was an age when localisation of sentiments had grown apace, when centrifugal forces were all over the country, when Maḥmūd, one of the greatest military leaders of any age, was persistently spreading destruction in the country, and when three frontiers of his small homeland were in constant jeopardy. In those difficult times he restored the integrity, power and magnificence with which Gūrjaradeśa was associated during the two hundred years which preceded him. If he had not the good fortune of Mihira Bhoja it was scarcely his fault. But in addition to his political and military triumphs Bhoja had a magnificence of character which has left an ineffaceable tradition. A poet, a polymath, he

¹⁰⁸ Appendix, D, vs. 21.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* IX, 113 f.

¹⁰⁹ *EI*, II, 185, 192, vs. 32.

¹¹¹ *VC*, XVIII, vs. 96.

staked his greatness on serving culture. Of all the great kings who flourished in India it was only his name that remains from one end of India to another as a by-word for learning, a distinction unique in the history of the world.

Most magnificent of all the kings of India, Bhoja will live in history even as the Udaipur *praśasti* styles him,

“ The illustrious Bhoja, the poet king ;
He achieved ; he gave ; he knew.
And what he did, none but he could.
What greater praise can mortal ever covet ? ”¹¹²

XIII

All records and legends show that on the death of the great emperor, Karṇa aided by Bhīma of Pāṭana invaded Malwa and possibly dethroned Jayasīṃha, the son and successor of Bhoja (1055-1066 A.C.). But on the disappearance of the common foe, bitter rivalry sprang up between the Cālukya Someśvara Ahavamalla and Karṇa of Cedi. Someśvara thereupon came to the aid of Bhoja's son Jayasīṃha and drove out the invaders.¹¹³ It was now the turn of Karṇa, the Kalacuri king, to suffer at the hands of his ambitious rivals. He was overcome by Vighrapāla III (1055-1081 A.C.) of Bengal ;¹¹⁴ by the Candella king Kīrtivarmā (c. 1098 A.C.) ;¹¹⁵ by the Cālukya Someśvara I (1020-1069 A.C.) ;¹¹⁶ and by Udayāditya of Malwa.¹¹⁷ The last known grant of Karṇa is of 1060-61 A.C.¹¹⁸ while the first grant of his successor Yaśhakarṇa is dated 1073 A.C.¹¹⁹ Taking advantage of this break up of a rival house, Jayasīṃha succeeded in consolidating some fragments of Malwa. But Kheṭaka maṇḍala and the region of the Mahi ceased to form part of that kingdom, for, Bhīma had already appropriated them.

The rulers of Abu, Naddūla, and Medapāṭa, the feudatories of Bhoja, as usual became independent ; and so did Bhīma.

Bhīma now declared war against the old foes of his family, the kings of Naddūla. Mahendra, the son of Balirāja, had been succeeded by Aśvapāla ; and he, by his son Ahilla, who grew in power and once defeated Bhīma. Ahilla was succeeded by his uncle Aṇahilla, the son of Mahendra, who also waged continuous war with Bhīma.¹²⁰ Kṛṣṇadeva II of Abu was at one time captured by Bhīma but was released at the intervention of Bala-prasāda.¹²¹ After thirty years Bhīma was free to dream of an empire.

A list of Bhīma's ministers has come down. Vaṭeśvara was his hereditary Lekhaka, Caṇḍa Śarmā was a sandhivigrahika. One Jahilla was the minister of finance. Vimala and Dāmodara, the two outstanding figures

¹¹² Appendix D, vs. 18.

¹¹³ VC, III, vs. 67.

¹¹⁴ DHNI, II, 780.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ ASI, w.c. (1921), 52 ff.

¹¹⁹ EI, XII, 205.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 71-72.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

of his ministry, have been already referred to. Soma, Sola's son, was the hereditary purohita. Bhābha, the grandson of Mādhava, the minister of Mūlarāja, was also a minister.

Bhīma married Udayamatī, the daughter of Naravāhana Kheṅgāra of Saurāṣṭra, by whom Karṇa his successor was born. According to Merutuṅga, he had married a hetaera by name Caulādevī, Baulādevī, or Bakulādevī by whom he had a son Kṣemarāja or Haripāla.¹²² His third son, called Mūlarāja, who was noted for his solicitude for the people, died young.

For forty-two years (1022-1063 A.C.) Bhīma presided over the destinies of Sārasvata maṇḍala. In generosity, Bhīma rivalled Mūlarāja; in valour he was incomparable. At the outset he had to face one of the greatest conquerors in history. Through that grim struggle, he emerged triumphant, with a Gujarat consolidated in sentiment. Succeeding where Mūlarāja had failed he acquired a compact kingdom which included the Maṇḍalas of Abu, Saurāṣṭra, Sārasvata, Satyapura and Kaccha and part of Kheṭaka maṇḍala and the Mahi valley. He came to owe no allegiance to a suzerain, though the event took place late in life. His wars with his southern and eastern neighbours made them weak, preparing the ground for his successors.

If Mūlarāja invited learned Brāhmaṇas to Pāṭaṇa, Bhīma made it an aspiring rival of Ujjayinī in learning. Śāntyācārya and Surācārya, Jāin sādhus of great learning and dialectic skill, flourished in his reign. Surācārya, it is said by the *Prabandhas*, was Bhīma's cousin; a very doubtful statement, for the two Jain sādhus got a footing in Aṇahilavāḍa only through the liberal-minded intercession of Someśvara, the purohita of the king, and Jñānadeva, the head of the Śaiva temple.¹²³ Dharma, a poet from Broach, and Śāntisūri of Una were also prominent poets, though nothing of their literary creations survives.

Architecture and poetry are the test of cultural greatness. In addition to literary achievements of which only tradition survives, Bhīma's reign saw the exquisite temple of Abu, the first stone temple of Somanātha and the beautiful step-well associated with the name of his queen Udayamatī, which has ranked as one of the wonders of the world.

Bhīma died in c. 1064 A.C. to be succeeded by his son Karṇa by queen Udayamatī.¹²⁴

XIV

Immediately on coming to the throne of Pāṭaṇa, Karṇa (1064-1074 A.C.) entered into an alliance with the Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇi. But Someśvara died in 1069 A.C. and his successor Someśvara II joined Karṇa in invading Malwa. Someśvara II became "a blazing fire to the race of Mālavyas". Dhārā was burnt to the ground. Jayasimha was killed. Udayāditya, the Daṇḍanāyaka of Someśvara II, "completely defeated the

¹²² PC, 77.

¹²³ PCA, 162, 163.

¹²⁴ PC, 53, 54.

king of Malwa who had declared war, and other conspirators against the throne of his master. He seized their property and women bedecked with jewels and handed them over to the Emperor."¹²⁵

Karṇa, who joined this confederacy, could not be the Kalacuri king Karṇa of Cedi, for between 1061 A.C. and 1069 A.C. when Someśvara II was on the throne, he had been completely overwhelmed by his enemies. This is supported by stray literary references as well as by epigraphic testimony.¹²⁶ Karṇa, the Cālukya, therefore, completed the work of dismembering the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa on the ruins of which the Third Empire of Gūrjaradeśa was built by his son Jayasimha.

Rival princes of Gūrjaradeśa had come to love independence so much that they wanted to prevent the imperial sceptre passing into the hands of Karṇa. Udayāditya, the ruler of Malwa, allied himself with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī to prevent the balance of power being tipped in favour of Pāṭaṇa. With the aid of the Cāhamana king and Vikramāditya of Vanavasi, Udayāditya re-acquired Dhārā.¹²⁷ Karṇa was defeated and his ambition received a set-back. Udayāditya soon consolidated his dominions, which now extended from Dhārā to Bhilsa and from Jalor to Nimar district. But he had no imperial ambitions. His little homeland and quasi-independence were enough for him till his death in 1086 A.C.

Karṇa soon recovered from the blow inflicted upon him. He invaded Naddūla, defeated Jogaladeva, the brother of Cāhamāna Prthvivāla, who had helped Udayāditya, and reduced him to vassalage.¹²⁸ He then turned southwards to Lāṭa and by 1075 A.C. he had annexed the whole of Lāṭa including the Navsari district. The inscription of 1075 A.C. recorded that in the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Karṇadeva of the Cālukya dynasty, his humble servant and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Durlabharāja of the Cālukya family, had given the village of Dhamanācchā in the Nāgasarikā (Navsari) viṣaya (district) of Lāṭa deśa.¹²⁹ This grant is confirmed by Karṇa himself. In the confirming grant Karṇa describes himself as the conqueror of the Nāgasarikā viṣaya,¹³⁰ evidently indicating recent conquest. The lekha is Kekkaka, the son of Vaṭeśvara, and the Dūtaka is Bhogāditya, the mahāsāndhivigrahika. This is the first grant in which the Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa assume the title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka after 995 A.C. when Mūlarāja styled himself a sovereign. This again indicates that it was only on the decline of the power of Malwa that the king of Pāṭaṇa became independent.

It was Karṇa who completed the consolidation of modern Gujarat, the south boundary of which now touched Koṅkaṇa and the northern went upto Naddūla.

¹²⁵ HP, 127 f.

¹²⁶ notes 102-107.

¹²⁷ PV, V, vss. 76-78.

¹²⁸ *Surathotsva praśasti*, vs. 23 : श्रीयोजको भूपतिरस्य बन्धुर्विवेकसौधप्रबलप्रतापः । श्वेतातपत्रेण विराजमानः शक्त्यणहिलाख्यपुरेपि रेमे ॥

¹²⁹ JBBRAS, XXVI, 250.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Karṇa married Mayanallādevī or Mīṇalādevī, the daughter of Jaya-keśī, the friend of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, the ruler of Kārṇāṭaka. The capital of Koṅkaṇa at the time was Goa. The *Prabandha* legends regarding the marriage of Mīṇalādevī with Karṇa are fictitious. Hemacandra romantically testifies to the fact that both Mīṇalādevī and Karṇa on looking at each other's portraits straightway fell in love. Merutuṅga's story of her wooing Karṇa through the intervention of Muñjāla is still more romantic rendering of an old folk tale. But from Hemacandra's accounts it can be inferred as a historical fact that Mīṇalādevī was brought to Pāṭaṇa to be married there. The viceroy of the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇi in charge of Koṅkaṇa married his daughter to the new conqueror of Lāṭa, possibly after suffering a severe defeat. Bringing his daughter to Pāṭaṇa was a price for purchasing peace.

The Sārasvata and the Khetaka maṇḍalas of old were separated by dense forests containing Bhill settlements. Āśāpallī—Ashlali—near modern Ahmedabad¹³¹ was in the centre of this tract. Karṇa wanted to connect his two provinces by removing the intervening jungles, thus repairing an omission of his predecessors. He therefore subdued the Bhill king Āśā of Āśāpallī and founded Kārṇāvati,¹³² modern Ahmedabad, which thus linked up the two maṇḍalas. It was left to Karṇa's foresight to weld North and South Gujarat into one. The founding of Kārṇāvati took place only a few years before his death.

In 1091 A.C. Karṇa described himself as Trailokyamalla,¹³³ a title which he assumed on account of his having conquered Lāṭa, which formerly was included in the kingdom of the Western Cālukyas.

His ministers included Kekkaka, the son of Vaṭeśvara and Mahāsāndhivigrahaika Śrī Cāhila. Dhavalaka, the son of Vimala's brother Mantrī Neḍha, was also a minister of his. Muñjāla had become the chief minister by 1090 A.C.¹³⁴ Sampatkara a chief known in the *Prabandhas* as Sāntū Mantrī, was also a chief minister. He was the patron of Bilhaṇa, the Kashmir poet, who lived at the court of Karṇa. His play *Karṇa-sundarī Nāṭikā* was first performed at the festival of the pilgrimage of Śrī Ādinātha under the leadership of Mahāmātya Sampatkara.

Karṇa was a great builder of temples, tanks and cities. In the personal descriptions of Solāṅki kings given by later authors one feature is commonly attributed to Karṇa. He was very handsome; Someśvara calls him 'handsome as the god of love'. In addition to his devotion to his family deity Śiva, he was, according to Hemacandra, "a Brahmvādin and

¹³¹ It is also identified with modern Āśāvala near Ahmedabad.

¹³² PC, 55.

¹³³ EI, I, 316 ff.

¹³⁴ JPP, I, 99 : योगदृष्टिसमुच्चय, सं. ११४६ समाप्तोऽयं योगदृष्टिसमुच्चयः । कृति-
श्वेतभिक्षोराचार्यहरिभद्रस्य । संवत् ११४६ कार्तिक शुदि... कर्णदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये महामात्यमुं जालपट्टकाव-
स्थिते एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने इद्वै श्रीमदणहिलपाटकावस्थि... ।

Harismarī". This indicates a catholicity of outlook not common to the earlier Cālūkyas.

But before Karna could consolidate his position as a dominant ruler in Gŭrjaradeśa he came into conflict with the Cāhamana Duśśala of Śākambhārī, sixth in descent from Vighraharāja who had fought Mūlarāja. Duśśala killed Karna in battle according to a statement in the *Hamira Mahākāvya*.¹³⁵ The Cāhamāna appears to have been supported by Joggala, the successor of Prthvipāla who once occupied Pāṭaṇa, and Lakṣmadeva of Malwa.

During his short and heroic career Lakṣmadeva, a brilliant military leader, paid off old scores sumptuously. He invaded Bengal.¹³⁶ He also defeated Yaśhakarna, the son of the great Kalacuri Karna who had dominated Madhyadeśa.¹³⁷ He also successfully arrested the progress of Rāmapāla of Aṅga,¹³⁸ and defeated the confederate forces of the Hoysala and the Cōla kings in the South.¹³⁹

But Lakṣmadeva had to face a more relentless foe. Maḥmūd, the great grandson of Sulṭan Maḥmūd, was the governor of the Indian possession of Ghazna. He invaded Madhyadeśa, destroyed Agra, and captured Kanauj.¹⁴⁰ He also invaded Malwa. The Persian poet Sulaiman thus sings the praises of Maḥmūd. "In the hottest part of each year, thou didst encamp at the most pleasant places. On this expedition, thou didst destroy a thousand temples of idols. Thy elephants trampled over a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march the army to Ujjayini. Malwa trembled and fled from thee."¹⁴¹ This rhetoric is one-sided. Lakṣmadeva drove back the invader from his land.¹⁴² But that was all.

In the last years of Karna, he also invaded Gujarat. "Even now the flood tide of tears" recites the Jainnad stone inscription of Jagaddeva "shed by the womenfolk of Gŭrjara heroes expresses the twang of the bow of Jagaddeva, as if it were the recitation of prayers in the form of stones of the valour of Jayasimha."¹⁴³ This explains the eclipse of Karna towards the end of his reign and the early difficulties of Jayasimha.

¹³⁵ *IA*, VIII, 59.

¹³⁶ *EI*, II, 186, vs. 38 : प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमे दिशं हरेर्जिज्जीर्षयानन्यसमानदन्तिनाम् । यथाविशद्रौ-
दपतेः पुरंदरस्तथा शशङ्के सहसा पुरंदरः ॥

¹³⁷ *EI*, II, 1026, vs. 39 : उत्साहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनिताजस्रप्रयाणक्रमेणाक्रम्य त्रिपुरीं रणैकरसिकान्नि
ध्वंस्य विद्वेषिणः । येनावस्यत विन्ध्यनिर्झरमरुसंचारचारुल्लपल्लोलोयानलतावितानवसतौ रेवोपकण्ठस्थले ॥

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, vs. 43 : ये दिक्सिन्धुरबन्धवः क्षयमल्लोद्विस्ताभृतः क्रीडाकोडकुटुम्बकान्तिजलमुक्स-
ब्रह्मचर्याजुषः । यस्तेनानृपगन्धसिन्धुरमरुमैत्रीविहस्तीकृतैस्तैरप्यङ्गकलिङ्गकुञ्जरकुलैर्युद्धायबद्धोज्जलिः ॥

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, vss. 46-47.

¹⁴⁰ *Elliot*, IV, 524.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 518.

¹⁴² *EI*, II, 181, vs. 54 : खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्वाहावलीवेल्लनङ्गाम्यकुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वक्ष्पः
कण्ठस्थले । येनावस्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाश्रिक्यवाक्पाटवश्चाद्रनुकटपत्रिपञ्जरगतः कोराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥

¹⁴³ *Annual Report of Archaeology in Nizam's Dominions* (1924-28), Appendix B.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THIRD EMPIRE OF GURJARADESA JAYASIMHA SIDDHARAJA, THE GREAT

(1096 to 1143 A.C.)

THE labours of Mūlarāja, Bhīma and Karna had borne little fruit. Gujarat had not grown into an imperial power. Now came to the throne Jayasimha, the son of Karna and Minaladevi, who restored the power, culture and greatness of Gūrjaradeśa and its people by founding the Third Empire. His base, however, was North Gujarat; Aṇahilavāḍa was his capital. Several contemporary writers have left their impressions of him, of whom the foremost is Hemacandra, who came into contact with the emperor when he was at the zenith of his power and fame. This great scholar has left behind him a first-hand record in the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*, *Siddha Haima*, *Deśināmamālā* and *Chandomuśāsana*. He has, however, treated his patron like a legendary hero more than a contemporary. This may be due to the current belief of the age; or perhaps, it was a shrewd man's way of describing a contemporary sovereign without risking his displeasure. There is, however, sufficient literary and epigraphic evidence to check Hemacandra's testimony and present a fairly accurate history of Jayasimha's character and achievements.¹ The later *Prabandhas* contain many legends, which, when uncorroborated by independent testimony, must be discarded in favour of contemporary material wherever available.

I

Jayasimha is stated by popular legends to have been born in Palanpur (Sk. Prahādānapura). But the town was founded by Prahādānadeva, the younger brother of Dhārāvārṣa of Abu, about a hundred years later and the statement is untrustworthy.

Jayasimha came to the throne when young. The *Prabandhas* say that Jayasimha was three years old, when he came to the throne;² one *Prabandha* gives his age as eight.³ But the contemporaneous evidence of Hemacandra is otherwise. He says "Jayasimha, when he grew up, went to the banks of the Sarasvatī to play and became an expert in duelling, fighting elephants and in using various weapons. He also learnt how to control elephants. When he attained youth, Karna got him crowned king. The old king also advised him, 'Protect the four varṇas; keep the traditions of your ancestors;

¹ See Appendix E, vs. 11-13.

² PC, 55 : स बालस्त्रिवार्षिकः सवयोभिः कुमारै रममाणः सिंहासनमलंबके ।

³ KC, I, 2, 27.

behave kindly to my nephew Devaprasāda.' Then Karna went to heaven "with his mind fixed on god Viṣṇu."⁴ Even if Jayasimha was very precocious, he could not have acquired these accomplishments before he was eighteen or twenty years old.

The main events of his life may be chronologically arranged as follows :—

- c. 1096 A.C. Accession (Pauśa vada 3, v.s. 1150.)⁵
- 1108 A.C. He is styled Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara.⁶
- 1110 A.C. He is styled Tribhuvana Gaṇḍa.⁷
- 1114 A.C. He defeats Kheṅgāra of Saurāṣṭra, takes him prisoner, and annexes Saurāṣṭra. The dating of the Simha Saṁvatsara (Era).⁸
- 1123 A.C.(?) Stone inscription without date at Udaipur, Gwalior State.⁹
- 1123 A.C. Fālguna. He defeats Barbaraka. Bhādrapada. He is further styled Siddha Cakravartī, a title advertising his conquest of Barbaraka.¹⁰
- 1125 A.C. He holds an assembly in which the Digambara sādhu Kumudacandra holds a debate with the Śvetāmbara sādhu Devasūri.¹¹
- 1127-28 A.C. Atru Stone-pillar inscription in Kotah State. Simha Saṁvat 14.¹²
- 1130 A.C. Inscription at Bhinnamāla.¹³ He is styled Siddharāja.
- c. 1135 A.C. Inscription on an image at Talwara in Banswara State, where he is described as having "broken the pride of Naravarman and crushed Padmāvatī." (Date falls between 1104-1139 A.C.).¹⁴
- 1135 A.C. He is styled as before.¹⁵ Fālguna (Caitra year), the conquest and annexation of Malwa.
- 1136 A.C. Jyēṣṭha. He assumes the title of Avantinātha.¹⁶
- 1136 A.C. Stone inscription at Gala in Kathiawar.¹⁷ He is styled Mahāsiddha Cakravartī Avantinātha.

⁴ DV, XI, III.

⁵ PC, 55 : III, 86. सं० ११२० वर्षे पौष वद्य ३ शनौ श्रवणनक्षत्रे वृषलमे श्रीसिद्धराजस्य पद्म-
मिश्रेकः ।

⁶ JPPS, 100, n. 14.

⁷ Ibid, 101, n. 25.

⁸ GMRI, I, 234.

⁹ IA, XVIII, 341.

¹⁰ n. 7.

¹¹ PCA, 178, vs. 193 ff.

¹² ASI, WC. (1905-06), 55.

¹³ Ibid, (1907-08), 38.

¹⁴ Rajputana Museum Report 2, Prasthāna, IX, 176.

¹⁵ JPPS, 103, Nos. 36, 38.

¹⁶ Ibid, 103, n. 40.

¹⁷ JBBRAS, XXV, 324 : [स]मस्त[रा]जावलीविराजित महा.....वि.....अ.....

[सि]द्धचक्रवर्ति अवन्तीनाथ श्रीम[ज्ज]यसिंहदेव..... ।

- 1136 A.C. He is styled Siddharāja. Second inscription at Gala.¹⁸
- 1137 A.C. Same title.¹⁹
- 1138 A.C. Inscription at Ujjayinī. Jyēṣṭha dark half (v.s. 1195). He is styled Tribhuvanagaṇḍa Siddha Cakravartī Avantinātha Barbaraka-Jiṣṇu. Malwa is referred to as Avanti maṇḍala, which is ruled by the Nāgara Mahādeva, son of Mahattama Dādāka.²⁰
- 1138 A.C. Inscription at Bhadreśvara. He is styled Siddha Cakravartī Trailokyamalla.²¹
- c. 1139 A.C. Title, same as in 1137.²²
- 1140 A.C. He conquers northern kings, as also Sindhurāja.
- 1140 A.C. Stone pillar inscription at Dohad (Dadhipadra) in a temple erected in v.s. 1196 by "Keśava, for the good of his mother." Jayasimha is described as the ruler of Gūrjara maṇḍala, as having thrown the kings of Saurāṣṭra and Malwa in prison, destroyed Sindhurāja and other kings, and made the kings of the north bear his commands on 'their heads' like Śeṣa. Dadhipadra and other maṇḍalas are described as being governed by Vāhinipati Keśava, the Senāpati.²³
- Parmāra prince of Kiradu records having lost the kingdom though Jayasimha helped.²⁴
- Stone inscription at Sambhar,²⁵ indicating that he held Sambhar in the Jaipur State.
- 1143-44 A.C. (v.s. 1200) Bali stone inscription.²⁶ Mahārāja Āśvāka, the same as Āśārāja or Āsvarāja, the Marwar Cāhamāna, is mentioned as a feudatory.
- 1143 A.C. Death.²⁷

The correctness of the last date is not settled. TODD found an inscription recording the fact that Sahasraliṅga was completed in v.s. 1202.²⁸ The Dohad inscription of Vapanadeva has an addendum of the year 1146 A.C. (v.s. 1202).²⁹ BÜHLER thought it was inserted later, but BURGESS is not

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, EI, XIX, Appendix, 37, n. 237

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ ASI. (W.C.), (1921), 54, 55.

²¹ *Ibid.* n. 2; Appendix, XIII, XIV.

²² *Ibid.* XIII, n. 56.

²³ IA, X, 159, vss. 1, 2, 41 : श्रीजयसिंहदेवोऽस्ति भूपो गूर्जरमंडले । येन कारागृहे क्षिप्तौ सुराष्ट्रमालवेश्वरौ ॥ अन्येष्युत्सादिता येन सिन्धुराजादयो नृपाः । आज्ञां शिरसि शेषेव बाहिता उत्तरे नृपाः ॥ एतस्यां पृथिवीनाथात् केशवो बाहिनीपतिः । सेनापतिक्रमं प्रापि दधिपद्रादिमंडले ॥

²⁴ EI, XIX, Appendix, 39, n. 250.

²⁵ IA, (1929), 234-36.

²⁶ EI, XI, 32-33 : तस्या[द]पद्मोपजीवि[नि मूहा]राजश्री आश्राके.....

²⁷ According to PC, 76, his death took place in vs. 1199. This date in view of n. 26 is incorrect.

²⁸ TODD, *Travels in Western India*, 142.

²⁹ IA, X, 159.

satisfied with it, and DHARUVA takes it as belonging to Jayasimha's reign. The Bali inscription records that Siddharāja was ruling in A.C. 1144 (v.s. 1200),³⁰ and the earliest known date of Kumārapāla's inscription is v.s. 1201 Pauśa Suda 2, (1145 A.C.).³¹

II

During the last days of Karna, Pāṭaṇa was in great difficulties. Karna had been overcome by the confederate forces of Śākambharī and Malwa. Perhaps, he lost his life in battle and his infant son had a very precarious future before him. If Pāṭaṇa survived, it was because of the skill and valour of one of Gujarat's greatest sons, Sāntū, the son of Vararāga.

Sāntū was first the governor of Lāṭa under Karna. Later, he was appointed the chief minister and continued to occupy that high office for over a quarter of a century. Bilhaṇa in his *Kaṇhasundarī*, a drama first acted in the temple of the minister, has left us a vivid glimpse of him. Sāntū was always immersed in the affairs of state. He had no time even to talk to his children or his young wives. He was a master of statecraft; greater than the classic Yaugandharāyaṇa. Under his instructions the armies of Gujarat under Succhika had defeated the Sultan of Ghazna. Ably aided by him, Mīnaladevī, the queenmother, brought up the young king Jayasimha. He continued to wield supreme power till 1123 A.C. when he resigned. Then he left Pāṭaṇa to proceed to Dhārā, was recalled by his master, but died on his return journey at Āhāḍa near Udaipur.³²

Another statesman who shaped the early events of Jayasimha's reign appears to be Muñjāla. But few achievements of this chief minister have come down. He was the mahāmātya of Karna in 1090 A.C. and was, according to Merutuṅga, in the confidence of his master and Mīnaladevī. He lived at least till 1135 A.C., when he prevented Jayasimha from putting the vanquished king of Malwa to death. Merutuṅga calls him mahāmātya; if this is a correct description, it must have been a mere title, for, other mahāmātyas are found to be discharging the duties of the office after Sāntū's retirement.

Among the younger statesmen who helped Jayasimha were Āśvāka or Āśuka who succeeded Sāntū as a mahāmātya in 1123 A.C., and Mahattama Gaṅgila, who followed him in 1125 A.C. The most notable among them, however, was Dādāka, a Brāhmaṇa of Ānandapura or Vadanagar, who is found to be the chief minister in 1136 A.C. and again in 1138 A.C. In the latter part of Jayasimha's reign this warrior statesman was the right-hand man of Jayasimha. His son Mahādeva was a general in the army and later

³⁰ EI, XI, 33 : संवत् । [१२] ०० [समस्त] राजावलीविराजितमहा राजश्रीजय [य] सिंहेदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पा [द] पद्मोपजीविनि महा [राजश्री आश्वके ।

³¹ HIG, III, (Miscellaneous Inscriptions), n. 144, D.

³² PPS, 31-32.

became the trusted minister of Kumārapāla. Ambāprasāda, who occupied the position of mahāmātya in 1137 A.C., appears from his name to be a Brāhmaṇa and so was Kāka, who at the end of the reign enjoyed the distinctive epithet of "Gūrjara Brahma Senāni." Minister Udayana's role was comparatively less important. He was the minister in charge of the port of Cambay and was not in favour on account of his well-known sympathies for the rival branch of the royal family.

III

The most curious phenomenon between 1030 and 1100 A.C. was the utter inability of Indian rulers and their advisers to envisage the potential danger which the existence of Turkish power in the Punjab implied. They resisted no doubt, but when invaded. As Al-Beruni attests there was plenty of hatred for the mleccha. The social organisation was growing more conservative in an unconscious process of resistance. But there was no organised attempt at driving the foreigner out. After Bhoja's death, no plenary confederacy of power could be founded under one leadership. The reason cannot be sought in lack of heroism. The rulers fought bravely. They would not submit. They died for their land and Dharma. But they were struggling adventurers, too distrustful of each other. No one would dare leave his frontiers exposed for long to the greed of his neighbour. Even the neighbours of the Turkish power could not see the need of purposive unity, for, steeped in pride, they were blind to what was happening outside their narrow horizon. There was no common cause, no common danger for them. International awareness was hopelessly absent.

The localisation of sentiment, which was growing apace after 940 A.C., was now working havoc. The Āryāvarta consciousness as a political sentiment had disappeared. The egregious pride of new royal families, the segregation of Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas into castes separate from the Kṣatriyas, the inveterate policy of maintaining relentless foes on their throne as restless feudatories, and the wars of succession at the death of almost every ruler contributed to this disintegration.

Deeper analysis indicates three evils more than any other as responsible for this disintegration. As a rule every chieftain sought support from his own family or clan. In order to secure it, he granted slices of his principality to younger members of his family. This became universal law. Family pride strengthened its hold on the warrior clans. Every ruler, in consequence, tended to be, not the head of hierarchy, but only the first among equals; 'the head of inter-related overlordships' to use the apt phrase of GRANET. At every succession the relatives, all of them little overlords, divided themselves into rival camps supporting competing heirs. It was, therefore, impossible to deprive them of their power when the victor succeeded in securing the crown for himself. He simply could not raise a new nobility at his court, as did Nāgabhaṭa II and Mihira Bhoja. The root of the idea that an enemy must be reduced to vassalage and not displaced must

also be found in this disability of kings. The Kṣatriya corporation would not brook a flagrant breach of this privilege, which, if allowed to be committed, would spell its corporate downfall at the hands of an ambitious monarch. The Brāhmaṇas, at all times averse to irresponsible political power, did not sanction an act which would place a king so above his equals as to jeopardise the law of the *Smṛtis* which they were out to defend.

In wars of succession, the heir presumptive relied upon his maternal relatives for loyal support, as Mihira Bhoja did, according to the *Prabhā-vaka-carita*. But the Kṣatriyas were much married. Every heir could look to his own mother's clan—generally a rival one—for support against the clan of his rival's mother. A mother, more often than not, married her sons to daughters of her own clan, in order to strengthen the pretensions of her son against the son of her co-wives. The Pratihāras, the Cāhamānas, the Cālukyas, the Candellas and the Kalacuris were thus interconnected clans, every man and woman of which ceaselessly intrigued and fought to retain its own position in every ruling family, large or small. A wise king like Mūlarāja or Bhīma associated the crown prince with him to avoid a war of succession; some, wiser still, retired—as did Cāmuṇḍa—placing their favourite son as their successor on the throne. In rare cases the heir to the throne was strong enough to coerce his rival into early submission without a war of succession paving the way to a strong central authority.

Of this ever recurring disintegration, the ultimate cause was the unrestricted polygamy of the Kṣatriyas of the day. It led to the three dvija classes into giving up inter-marriage. It created among the warrior clans rival claimants no sooner the controlling hand of the king was removed from his ambitious queens, each of whom was a proud, jealous woman fiercely attached to her parental importance and ceaselessly intriguing to gain an advantage for her sons.

The need of corporate resistance against outsiders generally leads to the foundation of a powerful state. The Indian cakravartī was not a ruler of a plenary state, but only an embodiment of a national suzerainty. On the contrary, the empires of the Mauryas, the Śātavāhanas, the Guptas, the Puṣpabhūtiś and the Pratihāras of Gūjaradeśa were brought into existence by empire-builders who wanted to resist foreign inroads. Such an imperial structure did not come into existence after the raids of Maḥmūd of Ghazna for three reasons. First, they were so overwhelming and recurrent that the consciousness of Āryāvarta being a political unit became a memory, not a living reality; secondly, the South under the Western Cālukyas presented too insistent a menace to let the powers of Madhyadeśa confederate against the foreign enemy; and lastly, Gūjaradeśa, by the disintegration of its warrior clans, had lost its grip of the Madhyadeśa and its vitality to re-acquire it.

In Gūjaradeśa, Śākambharī had waxed strong under the Cāhamānas at the cost of the Turkish power in the Punjab. The Gāhaḍavālas had revived, to some extent, the power of Kanauj. But the constant source of

weakness was that after Bhoja, the Magnificent, Malwa and Gujarat were too equally matched to evolve coordination by annexation or unchallenged domination. The Western Cālukyas had grown weak, but there was no strong power in the North to avail itself of the opportunity.

IV

In c. 1094 A.C. Lakṣmadeva of Malwa died, to be succeeded by Naravarman, who ruled till 1133 A.C. The last years of Karna had been disastrous. A minor king had succeeded to its throne. The boundaries of Gujarat had shrunk. A war of succession had enfeebled the resisting power of the Cālukyas. Jayasimha and the queen mother Minaladevī had, perhaps as a result, to withdraw to Saurāṣṭra under the pretext of pilgrimage. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and Naravarman swooped down on Pāṭāṇa.

Sāntū, who was in charge of the capital, surrendered. He did abject homage to the conqueror, paid a heavy tribute, 'washed the feet of the Paramāra king and poured a handful of water in the hollow of his hands.'³¹ Karna's son had no independent status and not much of a kingdom left. He had to become a feudatory of Malwa like his ancestors.

An interesting incident is recorded of this period. When Minaladevī and her son had sought retreat in Saurāṣṭra, the queen, while at Bāhuloda,³² saw the pilgrims returning disappointed because they had not the wherewithal to pay the pilgrim's tax levied on visitors to the shrine of Somanātha. She intervened and the devoted son remitted the tax.³³

One of the greatest, if not the greatest, influences in shaping Jayasimha's early years was, Minaladevī. She was a great woman. Legend and folk literature have vied with each other to immortalise her. No doubt, it was she who trained the young king for his high office, supporting him in the high purposes of his life. She lived long. She saw her son fulfil her ambitious dreams, and died at an advanced age a little before the conquest of Malwa in 1135 A.C. During the first forty years of Jayasimha's reign, she fought for power side by side with her son. The poet testifies to the part she played in the son's life when he puts into Jayasimha's mouth a noble eulogy when congratulated on his conquest of Malwa. The conqueror, who at the time was over fifty, a hardened soldier and a seasoned statesman, says :—

“No woman should bear
A son like me

³¹ PC, 58 : तच्चरणौ प्रक्षाल्य तत्करतले तत्पुण्यदाननिदानंजलचुलकं निक्षिप्य तं राजानं निवर्तयामास । Merutunga refers to the king of Malwa as Yaśovarman, but he came to the throne in 1193 A.C. He must, therefore, be Naravarman.

³² I accept Acharya JINAVIJAYAJI'S identification with a place at the foot of Girnar Mountain,—*Gūjara Kāvya Saṃgraha*, 743.

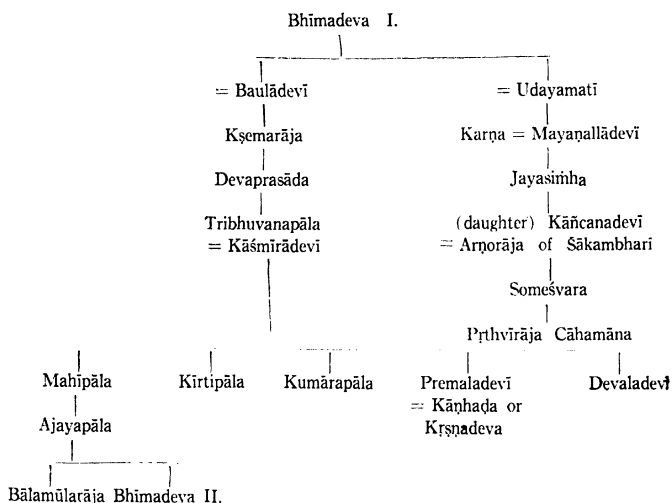
³³ PC, 57.

Whom fate brought the greatest of his cherished wish
Only when his mother was no more."³⁶

Jayasimha also dedicated two lakes to her memory, one at Viramgaum, another at Dholka.

The proud young Jayasimha smarted under the blow which Naravarman had dealt to his power at the threshold of his career. He tried to retaliate by invading Malwa and was worsted. On his way back to Pāṭana, he was trapped by the Bhills. Sāntū, however, came to the rescue, saved him from disaster, and suppressed the rising.³⁷

An equally, or perhaps more, serious danger to the young ruler's authority arose from a war of succession. In spite of the silence observed by the *Prabandhas*, the war, no doubt, took place. In order to prevent a war of succession Bhīmadeva had seated Karna, the son of his younger queen Udayamatī, on the throne in his own lifetime. The following pedigree will make the position of Bhīmadeva's family clear :—



In order to conceal the bitterness which prevailed between the two branches, Hemacandra tells a story that soon after Karna's death Devaprasāda of the senior branch committed suicide after enjoining his son Tribhuvanapāla to look after Jayasimha as his son.³⁸ The facts indicate a contrary conclusion. The relations between the two branches were anything but cordial. The authority of Karna just before his death collapsed as a result of enemy operations. His young son and widow, after his

³⁶ PK, 115 : मा स्म सीमन्तिनी कापि जनयेत् सुतमीदृशम् । बृहद्भाग्यफले यस्य मृतमातुरनन्तरम् ॥

³⁷ PC, 75.

³⁸ DV, XI, 114, 115.

death, were supported in power by the leading Jain minister. Devaprasāda, instead of being Jayasimha's guardian, ended his life. There was a complete eclipse of his son, Tribhuvanapāla, during the reign. Kumārapāla, his grand-son, was persecuted by Jayasimha for thirty years. The king hated the very idea of members of the senior branch succeeding him ; and showed disfavour even to his minister Udayana who helped Kumārapāla in his banishment. Clearly, therefore, the curse which had overtaken the warrior families of Gūrjaradeśa, was dogging the footsteps of the Cālukyās. Devaprasāda made a bid for succession, and lost his life. Perhaps his son was also killed. His grandson, a brilliant young man, was driven out of the realm, banished for life. During the whole of his long rule Jayasimha was sternly hostile to the branch, which appears to have all but wrested the succession from his grasp during the war of succession.

On the death of Bhīmadeva the parental relations of the favoured queen Udayamatī were powerful enough to achieve the succession of Karna to the exclusion of Bakulādevī's branch. Merutuṅga's statement that this queen was before marriage a hetāra—panyāṅganā—was perhaps a later invention to provide a moral background to the succession of the younger son. Kings in India of the period had too great a family pride to permit of such an alliance by marriage. Even at Karna's death his mother's relations were powerful in Pāṭāṇa. Old Madanapāla, Udayamatī's brother, led this clan in the capital and helped Jayasimha in his early struggle against Devaprasāda. But the young king had several advantages. His mother, though unaided by her relations, appears to be the only queen of Karna ; at any rate, the only one who had a son. And the ministers were undivided in their allegiance to the new monarch. No sooner Jayasimha disposed of the senior branch, he succeeded in removing the powerful relations of his grandmother also. Madanapāla was killed on the pretext that he had taken the law into his hands by holding the royal physician, Līlā Vaidya, to ransom.³⁹ The internal difficulties were all removed by 1104 A.C., for, we see by then that Jayasimha's sway extended upto Cambay.⁴⁰

The young king showed early traits of not going to be a mere head of related overlords. He strengthened his authority by weakening those of his own relatives ; and neutralised the intrigues at his court by removing the arch intriguers among them. Perhaps the wise Minaladevī knew the art of empire building, and Jayasimha was an apt pupil.

Jayasimha early saw the absurdity of maintaining his hereditary enemies as feudatories, only to await opportunities of undermining his power. He became 'like the maker of wicker baskets. He broke royal bamboos to make an umbrella for the world'.⁴¹ The young king was unique in

³⁹ PC, 55-56.

⁴⁰ Peterson Report, V, 81. See the colophon of *Adinātha-carita* (1160 A.C.). See the colophon of *Adinātha Carita* (1160 A.C.).

⁴¹ PC, 75 : सो जयउ कूडवरडो तिहुयणमज्झाम्मि जेसलनरिन्दो । हित्तूण रायवंसे इक्के हने कयं जेण ॥

having a clear perception of this reality of power. This faculty also provides the keynote to the career of this great imperial Gŭrjara, who appears to have made up his mind to stem the tide of disintegration.

IV

Having consolidated his power in North Gujarat, Jayasimha appears to have frightened Naravarman into quiescence. In 1108-09 A.C. he adopted the title of a sovereign ruler 'Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara.' About this time Jayasimha achieved a victory which led him to assume the title of Tribhuvanagaṇḍa. It is likely to be a victory over a southern king. Then he turned to Saurāṣṭra. The Cālukyas, as we saw, were the viceroys of Saurāṣṭra under the Pratihāra emperors. But the same cataclysm which drove Mūlarāja to seek a new kingdom in the Sarasvatī valley, saw the eclipse of the Cālukyan power in Saurāṣṭra and the resurgence of the Ābhīra kings. Mūlarāja, however, reduced Gṛharipu's line in Saurāṣṭra to vassalage. Under Bhīma, its Ābhīra king fought the retreating army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. But in Karṇa's time the suzerainty of Pāṭaṇa was nominal. During the early years of Jayasimha's reign, Rā Navaghana, the Ābhīra ruler, raised the standard of revolt. The young ruler of Pāṭaṇa, faced by other difficulties, let his feudatory wax strong till he was fully entrenched in power. Now that his hands were free to punish him he decided to do it thoroughly. He began to build a chain of fortresses from Pāṭaṇa to Gīmar, the most important of which was at Wadhwan.

In the meantime Rā Navaghana died, to be succeeded by his grandson Rā Kheṅgāra. Jayasimha now marched against him, defeated him in battle, and imprisoned him. This event happened in 1114 A.C. (v.s. 1170), because Jayasimha founded the Simha Era in that year to commemorate the conquest of Saurāṣṭra. Sajjana, the Jain minister, was appointed a daṇḍanāyaka or military governor of Saurāṣṭra, for, he is found officiating there in 1119 A.C.⁴² No more would Jayasimha let a vanquished foe play the part of a treacherous vassal.

The popular legend about the conquest of Saurāṣṭra, though well-known, is not founded in fact. Rā Navaghana, the father of Rā Kheṅgāra, runs the legend, was cornered by Jayasimha in Pāñcāla, near Nalakantha, and was not allowed to go free till he rendered homage. The Rā, thereupon, took a vow that he would avenge the insult by destroying the gates of Pāṭaṇa. Not being able to carry out the vow in his lifetime, at his death he sent for his four sons and offered his throne to the son who would undertake to fulfil it. Kheṅgāra, the youngest, accepted the condition and came to the throne.

When Siddharāja had been away invading Malwa, Kheṅgāra pursuant to the pledge raided Pāṭaṇa, and ran away with a beautiful damsel named

⁴² *Ibid.* 64 ; VTK, 9.

Rāṇakadevī to whom Jayasimha was betrothed. Enraged, Jayasimha invaded Junagadh. The nephews of Kheṅgāra turned traitors. Rā was killed, and so were his two sons. Rāṇakadevī spurned the overtures of Jayasimha and became a satī at Wadhwan.⁴³ The legend is unfounded. Kheṅgāra was not killed but imprisoned.⁴⁴ There is no evidence that Rāṇaka was the name of his queen or that she was either betrothed to Jayasimha or was, when a widow, wooed by him. There is no evidence to attribute to a mature king like Jayasimha a conduct so unnatural for the age. The word Rāṇakadevī is not a proper name, but only meant a queen.

After about twenty-five years of strenuous effort Jayasimha had consolidated his power over Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra. He had evoked loyalty among the younger statesmen and possessed an army obedient to his behests. He now turned against his preceptor Sāntū, who was the virtual head of the Śvetāmbara Jain community. During Sāntū's regency this community had become a formidable party in the state. Gūrjaradeśa for centuries was its home. Haribhadra, Udyotana and Siddharṣi—not to mention a hundred others—had lived, preached and written in these regions. They had gone to the lowly and the illiterate, spread the gospel of ahimsā to the poor, the distressed and the down-trodden. They were the spiritual guides of the great communities of Bhīllamāla—Śrīmālas, Osvālas and Porvāḍas—whose valour, wealth and statesmanship had largely contributed to the greatness of Pāṭaṇa since the days of Mūlarāja. The sādhus were not merely spiritual guides; they provided the steel-frame to this minor social organisation, looking after their lay following with solicitude as much temporal as spiritual. In the Gūrjaradeśa of Siddharāja, this community was compact, vigorous and powerful.

Jayasimha decided to be the master, not in name but in fact, and to make Sāntū realise it. The old minister was wroth. He left Pāṭaṇa in high dudgeon and went to Dhārā to ally himself against the land and the sovereign to whom he had given his best. Jayasimha proved too great a strategist for him. He expressed repentance and invited Sāntū to return. The old man accepted his erstwhile pupil's invitation. On his way back, he died at Āhāḍa, near Udaipur. Was his death a natural one? If so, it was a timely one. The Jain community now knew that the king whom it had helped to the throne was not a protege but a master. He had now Āsuka as the prime minister, his own man, undivided in loyalty.

It is easy to assume dictatorial powers when one is known to possess superhuman attributes. Jayasimha knew this well, and soon availed himself of an opportunity to surround himself with mysterious awe. Barba-

⁴³ *Rāsamālā* (Guj. Edn.) 211-19.

⁴⁴ n. 23; even PC, says that Navaghana was killed by having pots full of coins thrown at him. Merutuṅga evidently mixes up Navaghana with Kheṅgāra. The folk song given by him is clearly a legend.

raka,⁴⁵ the ruler of the aboriginal settlements to the north and east of Siddhapur, had grown strong and troublesome. From time to time he issued from his stronghold, sacked the holy places and harassed the devout living there. Once he destroyed the temple of Svayambhū Rudramahākāla. Jayasimha marched against him. The battle between the two armies was not decisive, but after his sword was broken, the Cālukya, single-handed, engaged Barbaraka in an all-in wrestle. It was a tremendous risk and showed the mettle of which he was made. With his muscles of a giant, he crushed Barbaraka in his bare arms. The victim vomited blood and dropped down in a faint. His wife Piṅgalikā interceded. Jayasimha saved the life of Barbaraka, who thenceforth became his adherent.⁴⁶

This was a unique triumph ; not the usual victory in battle, but a life and death struggle with a hated, uncouth, savage leader of a forest race who had acquired the reputation of a demon. It impressed his people as no other military victory would have done. He, in consequence, came to be held in awesome respect as possessing supernatural powers. Jayasimha had the flair for creating personal legends. Vikramāditya of tradition had a devoted Vetāla who did unearthly things for him. Barbaraka, unknown and possibly speaking an unfamiliar tongue and pursuing unusual ways, became his Vetāla ; an uncanny instrument of power ; a friendly demon who could make him dreaded, unapproachable, superhuman. He saw to it that his view of this triumph was accepted. Between Fālguna and Bhādrapada of v.s. 1123, he assumed the role, not of a mortal conqueror but of a Siddharāja, a ruler to whom, like Vikrama of the legends, was given the magic power to control the forces of other worlds. In later legends, like Vikrama again, Jayasimha is stated to have sat on the corpse of Barbaraka and subjugated him by incantation. This title came to be so associated with Jayasimha that he is still known in fable and folksong more as Siddharāja than by his name.

Jayasimha enveloped himself in a mysterious aloofness ; the supernatural embodiment of sovereignty, above and beyond the intrigues and policies of state. He went round at night in disguise. He communed with Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs. His wrath and his favour descended upon people unexpectedly. He had a special personal service which spread terror ; Barbaraka was its head and symbol. Jayasimha was not regarded divine as

⁴⁵ From the earlier days Barbaras were a kind of Mlecchas. (*MBH. Ś. Parva XXXII. 17, Drona Parva XCIX 15, 21, 45*). They are referred to as *Dasyus* in *Ś. Parva LVI. 13*, Ptolemy puts Barberi as a town on the Indus. (McCrindle's *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, 146). Rājasekhara puts them with Tuṣāra and Turuṣka. Vinaya Candra puts them with Nepāla, Takka, Taikāra, and describes Barbara, as a country which a Cakravartī must master. A part of Surāṣṭra is still called Bābaria Vāḍa. Barbaraka must be a ruler of tribes living in the shadow of the southern spur of the Arāvalis. *BV, (Hindi-Guj.)*, I, 65, 67, note.

⁴⁶ *DV, XII, 65-76 ff. XIII, 2.*

Mihira Bhoja, but in substance he was similar, apart from mankind, a source of power and grace, the Emperor.

V

Saurāṣṭra, North and South Gujarat and Kaccha were now parts of a compact kingdom; the foundation of the unit, now modern Gujarat, was laid; and Jayasimha now turned his attention to subduing the smaller kings of the old Gūrjaradeśa. A little before c. 1123 A.C. he annexed the region of Gwalior. Before c. 1127 A.C. the region now represented by the Kotah State was also annexed to Gujarat.⁴⁷

Jojjala of Naddūla was succeeded by Āśārāja who is also styled Āsarāja, Āśvarāja, or Āśvāka. Jayasimha subdued this hereditary enemy, who thereafter 'subsisted on the lotus feet' of the emperor of Pāṭaṇa.⁴⁸ Marwar became a province of Gujarat, its ruler a feudatory. Āśārāja accompanied Jayasimha when he invaded Malwa.

The Dohad inscription of Keśava also shows that during this period⁴⁹ Jayasimha conquered Kiradu in the Jodhpur State⁵⁰ and Śākambharī. He also defeated a Sindhurāja. A Sindhurāja is referred to in an inscription of 1152 A.C. at Kiradu in the Jodhpur State and another in Vastupāla's time as an ancestor of Śaṅkha of Lāṭa. There appears to be no independent king in Lāṭa since Karna conquered it, and if such a king was conquered by Siddharāja, there would be more reference to him. On the other hand, if he was an obscure king of the north, it is difficult to explain why he was separately referred to.

When Jayasimha came to the throne, Prthivīrāja I (c. 1103 A.C.) ruled Sapādalakṣa from Sambhar⁵¹, and after him Ajayarāja who founded Ajmer.⁵² These Cāhamānas were at war with the Cālukyas of Pāṭaṇa since 940 A.C. Simharāja was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Emperor in 973 A.C.⁵³ His son Vyāgraharāja fought Mūlarāja. His descendant Duśāla or Durlabharāja II defeated Karna and according to Nayacandra, killed him.⁵⁴

Ajayarāja was a powerful ruler, but appears to have submitted to Jayasimha. He aided the Cālukya emperor to subdue Malwa. In 1139 A.C. Arjorāja or Ānāka or Āna (c. 1139-1153 A.C.) unequivocally submitted to Jayasimha, who gave his daughter Kāñcanadevī to the Cāhamāna.⁵⁵ This fact is also referred to in the *Prthivīrāja-vijaya* written by a protege of the Cāhamāna king. In the commentary on that work, we are also told that Siddharāja had kept Someśvara, the son of his daughter Kāñcanadevī and the father of Prthivīrāja, in Pāṭaṇa and brought him up as a son.⁵⁶ An

⁴⁷ n. 9, 14.⁴⁸ n. 30.⁴⁹ n. 24.⁵⁰ *HR*, I, 83.⁵¹ *ASI, W.C.*, (1909-10), 52.⁵² *JRAS*, (1913), 272; *IA* (1897), 162-64.⁵³ *EI*, II, 121-22.⁵⁴ *IA*, VIII, 59; *Hammira Mahākāvya*, II, 31; *PV*, V, 76-78 contradicts the story.⁵⁵ *PC*, 76; *KK*, II, 28.⁵⁶ *PV*, VI, 34 (Commentary), 35.

inscription at Sambhar establishes the fact that Siddharāja had subjugated Ānāka. The relations were, however, of a subordinate ally rather than those of a suzerain and a vassal. It is also significant that Siddharāja did not assume the title of "the conqueror of Śākambharī."

The Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the irrepressible foes of Gūjaradeśa, were quiescent for a time. But Jayasimha was not inclined to leave his southern front exposed. In one of his campaigns he marched south and inflicted a defeat on Vikramāditya VI, styled Paramardī Deva.⁵⁷ Between 1114 A.C. and 1132 A.C. Jayasimha had marched from victory to victory. From Sambhar to the frontiers of Koṅkaṇa he ruled unchallenged as the master of the imperial Gūjaradeśa except Malwa.

VI

During this period Jayasimha had not left the old enemy of Malwa alone. At some time before 1133 A.C. he wrested Dungarpur Banswara from Naravarman (1094-1133 A.C.).⁵⁸ The *Prabandhas* state that Jayasimha waged a twelve years' war with Malwa. It is likely that during the years when he was busy with the wars in the north and the south he was also keeping Naravarman busy. An unpublished inscription states that 'Siddharāja made himself glorious by destroying the power of Naravarman'.

In 1134 A.C. Yaśovarman succeeded Naravarman⁵⁹ in Malwa. Jayasimha now decided to annex it to his dominions. The maker of wicker baskets did not want to leave this old royal bamboo standing erect. With the formidable instrument of war which he had forged for well-nigh thirty years, the emperor, now the most powerful of the age in India, marched on Malwa in A.C. 1135. Cāhamāna Ajayarāja of Śākambharī and Arṇorāja of Naddūla accompanied him. The Bhills also formed part of the invading host. Keśava, the general, perhaps operated from the base at Dohad. Mahādeva, the son of Mahāmātya Dādāka, was one of the leading generals. The old Mahāmātya Muñjāla also accompanied the monarch. Like lightning, Jayasimha reached the banks of the river Sipra, laid siege to Ujjayinī, turned down offers of peace, won over some feudatories of the enemies, and captured the city. Yaśovarman fled to Dhārā. Jayasimha pursued him. This Cālukya—

"A hero of renown
Like unto a dancer,
Wielding his blade in battle,
Seized Malwa's field-fleeing monarch,
Who to Dhārā had fled."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ OJHA, *Solankiyan Kā Prācīna Itihāsa*, I, 117.

⁵⁸ HP, 163.

⁵⁹ IA, XIX, 351.

⁶⁰ DV, XIV, 72 : धाराप्रविष्टमथ कौलटिनेयबुद्ध्या द्राक्चाटकैरमिव तं चटकारिपक्षी । जग्राह मालवपतिं युधि नर्तितसि नाटेरकः सपुलकश्चलुक्रप्रवीरः ॥

Details of the capture of Dhārā are given by Merutuṅga. Jayasimha himself led the attack riding on his elephant, Yaśahpaṭaka, driven by the mahut, Sāmala. The elephant died and a temple of Gaṇapati was erected in his memory at Vaḍasara.⁶¹ At one time the fate of Dhārā was in the balance, when a bard shouted :

“ Ye, son of Karṇa, listen

Dhārā cannot fall

When your hosts are led by men⁶² of foreheads with tilla marked.

Let Jesal come !

He alone even the Lord of Death can vanquish,

If ever he dares to come.”⁶³

Jesala—perhaps Jayasimha himself led the army, and the “ Red Cock ” banner of Jayasimha flew over Dhārā's battered walls. Jayasimha wanted to kill Yaśovarman, but the wise and ancient Muñjāla saved him. The Emperor's thoroughness offended the age-long susceptibilities of even his own people.

At the head of the triumphant army Jayasimha returned to Pāṭaṇa, captive Yaśovarman seated behind him. He achieved this crowning glory of his life about the Caitra of v.s. 1191 (1136 A.C.). Imperial Gūrjaradeśa once more became politically one. Pāṭaṇa, its capital, now celebrated the event with éclat. Poets, headed by Hemacandra, waited on him with appropriate eulogies.⁶⁴ The conqueror ‘ caged some of the kings he had conquered, like birds ; some were chained by the neck like cattle ; others by the leg like horses ’ says the poet.⁶⁵ ‘ The proud king of Dhārā was fettered ’.⁶⁶ Mahādeva was appointed the governor of Malwa.⁶⁷

Muñja had captured the fort of Chitor and the adjacent parts of Mewar, which were being ruled by Malwa. Bhoja had got a temple named Tribhuvana Nārāyaṇa or Bhoja Jagatī erected at Chitor. He even used to stay there frequently. Even in Yaśovarman's time, therefore, Mewar was part of the dominions of Malwa. When annexed it formed part of Avanti

⁶¹ PC, 58-59.

⁶² Possibly a reference to Jain ministers.

⁶³ PPS, 35 : एहे टीललेहिं धार न लीजई करण-उत्र । जम जेहे प्रउंचेहिं जोइ जेसल आवतउ ॥

⁶⁴ PC, 59.

⁶⁵ DV, XIV, 74 : गौधारदुष्टक्रामुं कृतो गौधेरदुष्टाशयान्य (न्या) क्षारानपि तत्र सीमनृपतीत्रा-
ण्टारपाण्टारवत् । सो बध्नादुत सौरभेयवदुताहोवाडवेयोद्व (याश्च ?) व दप्तान् रवैतिकाश्चपालिकसखान् गार्ग्यहा-
श्रयधीः ॥

⁶⁶ EI, I, 297, vs. 11 : दप्यन्मालवभूपबंधनविधित्रस्ताखिलक्ष्मापतिर्भक्त्याकुष्टवित्तीर्णदर्शनशिव[मू]
त्तप्र[भ]बोदयः । सद्यः सिद्धरसानृणीकृतजगद्गीतापमाभित्तिर्जज्ञे श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतिः सिद्धाधिराजस्ततः ॥
and see n. 23 ; from his banner Jayasimha is called Tāmracūḍadhvaṇa—Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra,
IV, 81.

⁶⁷ n. 20.

maṇḍala of Jayasimha's dominions. Chitor was within the boundaries of the empire when Kumārapāla visited it in 1143 A.C. The empire founded by Siddharāja, thus, comprised of modern Gujarat including Lāṭa, Saur-āṣṭra, Kaccha, Rajputana, Central India and Malwa ; in fact, the old Gūrjaradeśa.

The conquest of Malwa brought Siddharāja into contact with the Candellas, the Kalacuris and probably the Gāhaḍavālas. He invaded Bundelkhand,⁶⁸ entered into an engagement with Madanavarmā of Mahobaka (1129-1163 A.C.), but met with little success.⁶⁹ Madanavarmā is recorded to have 'defeated the king of Gūrjara in an instant'. Jayasimha also established diplomatic relations with Kalacuri Yeśaḥkarṇa (c. 1073-1125 A.C.) and Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (1145-1155 A.C.).⁷⁰ The emperor was too old to accomplish fresh conquests.

Yaśovarman continued to rule as a Mahārāja—a feudatory—over a petty principality on the banks of the Kali-Sindhu till 1142 A.C.⁷¹ He was succeeded by his son Jayavarman, who was dethroned by another son Ajayavarman in c. 1144 A.C. The third son, Lakṣmīvarman, and his successors, also continued to rule over a principality in Malwa between 1144 and 1200 A.C. Considerable part of Malwa, however, remained as a province of Gujarat.

VII

Siddharāja was not merely a great conqueror. He was as great, if not a greater, builder and a still greater patron of learning. With increasing boundaries and despite ceaseless military activities Gujarat grew prosperous ; and wealth began to be used in great works of architecture. The *Prabandhas* vie with each other in describing the zeal of the monarch for erecting magnificent structures. He rebuilt Rudra Mahālaya at Siddhapura and constructed the lake Sahasraliṅga at Pāṭaṇa.⁷²

The Sahasraliṅga was, in fact, the reconstruction of a lake which had been built by Durlabharāja⁷³ on a very elaborate scale. In Jayasimha's days it must have been a magnificent work consistent with the grandeur which characterised the ruler in all he did. Its relics now being excavated by the Archaeological Department of the Baroda State give some idea of what it must have been. The river Sarasvatī was practically diverted into it. It was not a lake, but a vast structural arrangement, through the scientifically planned lakes and canals of which water flowed round temples and pleasure-houses erected on artistically constructed islets. This huge water-garden, if one can so term it, was bounded by a girdle of a thousand

⁶⁸ *KK*, II, 33.

⁶⁹ *JASB*, XVII, Pt. I, 310 ; *IA*, (1908) 144.

⁷⁰ *PC*, 74. The name Jayacandra given by Merutuṅga is a mistake for Govindacandra.

⁷¹ *ASI*, W.C., (1906), 56

⁷² *PC*, 61-62.

⁷³ *GMRI*, I, 258.

temples of Śiva, every one of which was an elaborate structure. On the outskirts of this architectural wonder, were *satra-sālās* for the Brāhmaṇas for sacrificial purposes, one hundred and eight temples of goddesses, a temple of Daśavatāra of Viṣṇu, *maṭhas* to house students and professors proficient in different branches of learning.⁷⁴ This was a monument excelling anything known to history, a tribute to the grandeur of him who was Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Tribhuvanagaṇḍa, Siddha Cakravartī, Avantinātha, Barbarakajiṣṇu, Śrī Jayasimhadeva.

Jayasimha did not rest content with these great works of art. "Who will equal Siddharāja's record of big temples and lakes?" asks Merutuṅga. He is credited with having founded Simhapura (modern Sihor) near Shetruṅja,⁷⁵ though in fact it was a much older town. He is reputed to have built a chain of forty fortresses from Wadhwan to Thana, which formed the backbone of his power.⁷⁶

Siddharāja not only captured Ujjayinī but diverted to Pāṭaṇa the wealth, art and literature for which that ancient city had been famous. Just as Ayodhyā was the capital of Rāma, Pāṭaṇa was the capital of Siddharāja. Turrets of his many temples rose high in the sky "obstructing even the path of sun's steeds." It was a city of temples, laid out as a *svastika* and surrounded by a high wall, with towers and bastions of stones which, adds Hemacandra, "served as mirrors for heavenly damsels."⁷⁷ Round the city-wall was the moat, like the sea protecting its daughter Lakṣmī, who resided in the city. The desert had not moved south. The river Sarasvatī was not a sandy track as now; it was crossed by boats and supplied water through channels to the Sahasraliṅga lake.⁷⁸

Pāṭaṇa was fabulously wealthy. Its trade, commerce and maritime activities which its merchants carried on from Cambay, then a port of international importance, were proverbial. The rich of the city had their mansions with gardens lovely with flowers.⁷⁹ Its citizens of both sexes were cultured. Women were sweet of speech, dulcet of voice and proficient in fine arts and, as Hemacandra hastens to add, were beautiful too.⁸⁰ The people were liberal, hospitable, brave and adventurous.

Siddharāja, though not a literary man himself, wanted to vie with Bhoja of Ujjayinī and Vikramāditya of tradition in being a patron of learning. He made Pāṭaṇa the home of learning. The religious zeal with which the Jain sādhus have preserved their manuscripts, gives a fine, though partial, picture of the intellectual activities of Pāṭaṇa. The Brāhmaṇas led all such activities and were the special objects of royal munificence. These heirs to the learning and culture which were associated with Bhillamāla, Kanauj and Ujjayinī, were the architects of Pāṭaṇa's cultural greatness, which is described by Hemacandra.⁸¹

⁷⁴ *DV*, XV, 115.⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.⁷⁶ n. 49.⁷⁷ *KCA*, I, 3.⁷⁸ *Prasthāna*, XII, n. V, 283.⁷⁹ *KCA*, I, 11.⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, I, III, 120.⁸¹ *Ibid.* XV, 115, 121; I, 7, 39.

In Pāṭaṇa the Brāhmaṇas used to perform their six-fold religious duties ; they were famous for their erudition in every department of learning. On the margin of Sahasraliṅga lake were built Satra-śālās for the Brāhmaṇas and Maṭhas where students lived and studied. "A tongue-tied student" says Hemacandra, "studying in the college of the city would be an eloquent man." In the city ninety-six sects of all the āśramas lived together joyfully. There were ritualists and philosophers. The six gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Soma and Kārtikeya were worshipped in different temples erected by the kings.⁸² Pāṭaṇa was not merely the home of wealth and valour ; under Siddharāja, it was an abode of Dharma. "Its citizens were foremost in valour and learning, foremost in self-control and truth, foremost in the knowledge of the six Vedic lores and foremost in the pursuit of Absolution."⁸³

At one of the learned debates, which took place in the presence of Jayasimha, he was assisted by four learned men ; a maharṣi, learned in Tarka, *Mahābhārata* and the *Smṛti* of Parāśara ; Utsāha, a grammarian from Kashmir ; Sāgara who was a man of extraordinary intelligence ; and Rāma who was an expert in logic and dialectics.⁸⁴ "One can be proud," says the poet Śrīpāla, "of one's knowledge of grammar, poetics, politics and dialectics only if he has lived at the court of Jayasimha."⁸⁵

When Dhārā fell, Siddharāja invited Bhāva Bṛhaspati, the guru of the Paramāra kings, to come and settle in Gujara'. This learned and venerable Brāhmaṇa came originally from Vārāṇasī in the Kānyakubja Viṣaya, and had taken the vow of the Pāśupata cult. He was placed in charge of Somanātha, the principal shrine of the cult in India. Siddharāja had a genius for making friends. Bhāva, like Śrīpāla, the poet, describes himself 'as bound in brotherhood to the monarch.'⁸⁶ The names of other Brāhmaṇas of learning—except stray and hostile references in the *Prabandhas*—are lost. Their life-work is forgotten. Their masterpieces are gone. The vandalism, which overspread Gujarat after the conquest of the Turks in 1297 A.C., destroyed not only the temporal glory and the architectural beauty of Gujarat, but the literary and intellectual achievements of this Augustan age of Gūjara-deśa.

When Siddharāja returned from Malwa, he brought the library of Bhoja to Pāṭaṇa. He inspired Hemacandra to write the grammar, the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*,⁸⁷ which, when completed, was duly honoured by being taken out in a procession on the back of the elephant with the royal

⁸² *Ibid.* I, 46.

⁸³ *Ibid.* I, 65.

⁸⁴ Yaśaścandra, *Mudritakumudacandra*. (Śrī Jain Yaśovijaya Grantha Mālā, 8) 45.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* IV, 18.

⁸⁶ *BPSI*, 186, vs. 8 : यद्यन्मालवकान्यकुञ्जविषयेऽवंत्यां सुतमं तपो नीता शिष्यपदं प्रमारपतयः
सम्यक्कथाः पालिताः । प्रीतः श्रीजयसिंहदेववृषतिभ्रातृत्वमात्यंतिकं तेनैवास्व जगत्त्रयोपरिसस्यद्यापि धीजुभिर्तः ॥

⁸⁷ *PC*, 60-61.

insignia of chatra and cāmara. Śrīpāla who wrote the praśasti of Sahasraliṅga lake was a close associate of the king, who called him 'a brother.'⁸⁸ Hemacandra, honoured of Jain sādhus, had the extraordinary luck of having all his works preserved. Among other works which have survived are *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* by Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Soma, *Kavi-śikṣā* by Jayamaṅgalācārya and *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* by Vardhamānasūri.

VIII

Jayasimha has been maligned by later legends. The Jain sādhus, bent on rearing the fabric of Kumārapāla's reputation, have failed to present his uncle in true colours. Folk-songs like the song of Jasamā Oḍaṇa have described him as a lustful tyrant. But a survey of all reliable materials gives a different picture. Jayasimha was great in every respect. In physical strength and courage he was superb; in administrative organisation and military achievement he was thorough; in statesmanship unique. From out of the ruins of the small principality of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa, which Karna left as legacy, he carved out an empire which resuscitated the glories of imperial Gūjaraḍeśa.

Few successful rulers have had to face the difficulties which he had to when, as a minor, the sceptre of Pāṭaṇa was placed in his hands. Slowly and steadily he overcame all obstacles. From the helpless boy relying on his mother and his ministers for his power, he emerged a mighty invincible figure moving in mysterious dignity. The suppression of all intransigent elements in the capital, the thorough reversal of the traditional policy of making feudatories of vanquished enemies, and the genius with which he dominated the brilliant court of Pāṭaṇa by setting up in himself the only centre of power shows rare perception and ability. Mihira Bhoja, if the little glimpse that we have got of him is true, set himself apart from ordinary human beings and was worshipped as a deity. Jayasimha Siddharāja had the art of creating a personal tradition which made him look something apart and above the brilliant throng which crowded the court of the first city in India of the time. He became the fountain-source of power and grace. He had also the imagination to conceive grand schemes and the capacity to carry them out. He was just, generous and devout. He could organise well and wisely. His 'umbrella' did not fall to pieces when he was removed from the scene. Following the tradition of great Indian kings, he conceived all royal grandeur as a composite of military triumphs, architectural grandeur and intellectual renaissance. He became the Augustus of that age. If giving grants was generosity, his generosity had not the magnificence of Paramāra Bhoja. No dānapatra of Siddharāja has been found so far. But he was a statesman; he preferred to set up institutional organisations instead of scattering individual gifts.

⁸⁸ *EI*, I, 293, vs. 30 : एकाहनि[व्य]महाप्र—धः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबंधुः । श्रीपालनाम कवि-चक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्तां ॥

Siddharāja above all was strong. His strength shines through contemporaneous and later records with the vivid brilliance of a well-cut diamond. He never forgave Devaprasāda's branch for the early attempts to dispute his claims to the throne. Towards the vanquished foes of Pāṭaṇa he had no sentimental partiality. But he removed many of the disqualifications under which the Jains had suffered. Even between the mlecchas and his own people he had the fairness to decide in favour of the hated foreigner who followed an alien religion. Muhammad 'Awfi observes in his *Jawāmi-'u'l-Hikayat*⁸⁹ that during his stay (c. 1223 A.C.) in Kambayat (Cambay) people related to him an incident of Jayasimha, the ruler of Nahrwala (Pāṭaṇa).

'Some fireworshippers instigated some infidels to attack the Musulmans of the place and their mosque. The Musulmans were attacked and eighty of them were slain, the mosque was burnt and the minaret destroyed. Khatib 'Ali, the Imam of the Musulmans, approached Jayasimha and presented the case in the form of a long poem composed in Hindi (the then local language). Jayasimha was so much impressed that he secretly went to Cambay and personally investigated into the matter. He was satisfied that the Muslims were oppressed and slain without any grounds. He then gave one lac of Balotras (local coins) to enable them to rebuild the mosque and the minaret. Khatib 'Ali was also rewarded.'

His secret service was efficient. His ministers and generals were kept in constant dread of the emperor who, with his supernatural powers, came down upon them when necessary with swiftness of divine wrath.

Jayasimha was a great devotee of Śiva. On undoubted authority he made pilgrimage to Somanātha.⁹⁰ Throughout his life he stood firm in the faith of his forefathers. He got constructed new temple of Rudramahālaya at Siddhapura under the supervision of his minister Alira. In the temple, before the image of god Śiva, he had his own statue erected praying with folded hands. "And when the flag flew on the temple top of Rudramahālaya the flags on the Jain temples were lowered."⁹¹

IX

The last years of the Emperor were clouded by the dread of dying sonless. Possibly a life's effort at playing a mysterious force had left him

⁸⁹ Elliot, II, 162-163 ; I understand from Prof. M. Abdulla Chaghatai that this mosque still stands at Cambay though rebuilt later. He writes "As regards the mosque at Cambay, it could only be said that it existed there during the stay of Muhammad 'Awfi, the author of the *Jawami-'u'l-Hikayat*. Though at present Cambay is full of mosques yet it is not easy to locate this very mosque. There is one old mosque which bears two or three inscriptions. One of these inscriptions of the latter period in Persian verse records its name in the opening verse as *Masjid-i-Sadd-i-Awwal*, the mosque of the first century of Islam. We can presumably infer that this particular mosque may be the same mosque."

⁹⁰ DV, XV, 18 ; HR, I, 245, n. 3 : पुत्रार्थं चरणप्र(चा)रविधिना श्रीसोमनाथं ययौ ।

⁹¹ PC, 61 : तस्य प्रासादस्य ध्वजारोपप्रस्तावे सर्वेषामपि जैनप्रासादानां पताकावरोहं कारितवान् ।

friendless, lonely and suspicious. He had hated the elder branch of his family with the concentrated hatred of a life-time. He had persecuted Kumārapāla, all his life, making him a wanderer on the earth for the last thirty years. And he knew—subsequent events show that he must have known—that his great ministers and generals, Dādāka and Mādhava, Sajjana and Udayana, his generals Kṛṣṇadeva and Kāka were for keeping the succession in the line of Mūlarāja and Bhīma, who had created a new Gujarat out of the old. For reasons of statesmanship, Jayasimha himself did not like to be succeeded by Someśvara, the son by his daughter Kāñcanadevi and Arjorāja of Śākambhari, now his ally and erstwhile foe. It is possible to attribute to so shrewd a king a desire to see that the Jain community, which had already taken the fugitive Kumārapāla under its wings, should not reduce the throne of Pāṭana to an appanage to its religious and temporal ambition.

Like Napoleon, therefore, he hungered for a son and heir who would keep his line and empire in tact. He built temples, and gave grants to the Brāhmaṇas to that end. He went on pilgrimage on foot to Somanātha. Hemacandra's account of the pilgrimage is, no doubt, a later feat of imagination; he was not sufficiently intimate with Jayasimha to be in his entourage. He besought his guardian-god for an heir. The *Dvyāśraya* tells us how the god Somanātha himself told the king that 'Kumārapāla, the son of his brother Tribhuvanapāla, would succeed him on the throne'.⁹² Evidently, this is a legendary version of the general feeling in Jayasimha's court that Kumārapāla should succeed. The old warrior was adamant. Egotist till the last, he hoped for a male issue. He built temples, gave gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, made pilgrimages. But the fates could not be propitiated.

X

Siddharāja was the heir to the imperial tradition which began with Nāgabhaṭa four hundred years before.

In c. 641 A.C. the great Chinese traveller had witnessed with admiring awe the mighty phenomenon, which was India, at the court of emperor Śrī Harṣa. During the five hundred years which had elapsed since then, a change had come over the life and the factors operating upon it. Varṇāśramadharma, on which the political and social organisation was based, had changed its content, and stiffened its form. The twice-born, consisting of the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, were now three separate castes. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, now no more related by blood and brought up together by education, were now two distinct castes. The Kṣatriyas were now attached to the local chief, who was more concerned with founding a kingdom of his own, instead of upholding the Dharma

which the Brāhmaṇa taught. Consequently they lost the universal outlook of a country-wide corporation.

Mahīpāla was the last Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta, the head of an imperial power which thought in terms of Indian frontiers. Muñja, Bhoja and Siddharāja in Western India, though they lacked the Āryāvarta outlook, had yet the training and culture of the Kṣatriyas of the old type. They were valorous men, imbued with the spirit of Aryan culture. They wrote verses or presided over learned assemblies in the same manner as Śrī Harṣa, Mihira Bhoja and Mahīpāla did. But they were the last of a dying race. The new race mainly consisted of bold adventurers. They fought, they founded, they lost. They had no training and no aptitude for developing that wider Ārya-dharma consciousness which their fore-bears had. Each family of the Kṣatriyas got rooted into its ancestral domains and the sentiments of the Brāhmaṇas were also localised in consequence. This localisation was as much the result of the localisation of Kṣatriya sentiment as of Brahmanical narrowness, social, religious and intellectual. A Brāhmaṇa originally from Kashmir or Kāñcī would describe himself by his gotra only ; now he began to describe himself by his locality as Gauḍa or a Draviḍa Brāhmaṇa.

The cause of the narrowness is not difficult to seek. The Kṣatriya did not impose any restriction on himself as regards either the number of wives or the class from which he chose them. With the clearing of the forest areas and the coming into existence of small principalities ruled by kings and their kinsmen who had not absorbed Ārya Dharma, the family life of a Kṣatriya came to represent varying strata of culture and tradition. Large sections of people, not yet imbued with the form or spirit of Dharma, came into the social fold in this war. The Brāhmaṇa was overwhelmed by the dread of Dharma being vulgarised by alien contact. He lost his sense of mission, gave up the expansive tradition of the earlier Ṛsis, developed purely defensive instincts and ways. Instead of purifying by contact, he succeeded in remaining true to tradition himself by segregation. He discouraged inter-marriage between castes. He stopped marrying a daughter of another caste. As Al-Beruni testified, interdining had also come to be restricted. He was not the elite of the whole society, he was its teacher. Three results followed. First, the Brāhmaṇa lost touch with life. Instead of being the moulder and inspirer of a living culture, he became a member of an exclusive priestly class, which shrouded in its own sanctity, stood away from the rest. Secondly, the Kṣatriya lost his high cultural outlook only to become a man who lived by the profession of arms, thus losing his vital role as the upholder of Dharma. Thirdly, the process of uplift and absorption of other classes became slow and difficult.

But the interdependence of the two castes was too deep-rooted to be easily weakened. The learned Brāhmaṇa was held in universal respect. Kanauj and Mānyakheta may destroy each other but in learning, culture and tradition the court of the Gŭrjara Pratihāras did not differ much from

the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas nor did the court of Siddharāja differ from the court of his enemy Paramardī of Kalyāṇi in these respects. In their mission the Brāhmaṇas were maintained and supported throughout the land by the Kṣatriyas in spite of their perpetual feuds. Even to-day, nine hundred years later, except where a Hindu prince has learnt in one of the British Rajkumar colleges to look up to the white man and look down upon his own, the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas work hand in hand to preserve the heritage of culture.

But this association between the two castes, close as it was, lacked the vitality of the older sense of identity. With huge masses coming into the folds of Ārya-Dharma, cultural tendencies became naturally 'diluted' and group sentiments began to be restricted to narrower spheres. And when the Brāhmaṇas receded into a semi-divine detachment, the forces of absorption lost their pristine vigour.

The failure of the high browed Āryan learning and ritual to satisfy the aspirations of the newly absorbed masses had given rise to popular forms of Ārya Dharma like Buddhism and Jainism. They brought a still larger number of uninitiates into the ambit of Dharma and created problems. What were mere schools of religious thought or ritualistic processes became sects which sought the support of royalty and often ranged themselves against Brahmanical influence. These new movements, in spite of purifying older religious forms and thought and bringing them in touch with the problems of the day, flourished on local pride. Āryāvarta consciousness was to them a literary and mythological concept, not a live reality. This accelerated the process of localising group sentiments.

This phase was evident in the struggle which was going on in Pāṭaṇa during the last days of Siddharāja. The conqueror, heir to the old Āryāvarta consciousness, stood at the parting of ways. He tried to walk in the footsteps of Bhoja and Vikramāditya. But the spirit of his age was represented by Hemacandra, who was to be an unconscious instrument of giving to the new group sentiment a local habitation and a name.

Born in 1019 A.C. in Moḍha Vaisya family of Dhanduka in the modern Ahmedabad District, he was initiated as sādhu at the age of eight under the patronage of Udayana, Siddharāja's governor of Cambay. This brilliant and versatile young man became a sūri—an advanced stage in the hierarchy of Jain sādhus—at the age of twenty. He mastered the different branches of learning available in that age of great scholarship, and became the leading sādhu of the Śvetāmbara Jain sect. He came to be looked up to with reverence by his community long before he reached middle age. In 1138 A.C. when Siddharāja, after his conquest of Malwa, celebrated his triumphal entry into Pāṭaṇa, Hemacandra as the pre-eminent man of learning led a delegation of the learned to congratulate the conqueror. That was perhaps the first time when the conqueror met the scholar. Siddharāja immediately utilised

the scholar's services for immortalising himself in a work of grammar. *Siddha-haima* was the result.⁹³

Hemacandra then wrote his *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya* as a first song of that localised group consciousness which had sprung up in Gujarat round the kings of Pāṭaṇa. Mūlarāja, according to Hemacandra, was Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Rudra.⁹⁴ The land of the Cālukyas was as distinguished as that of Rāghavas. Pāṭaṇa was Ayodhyā—Siddharāja had a place with the traditional cakravartīs of ancient literature. This poem was a triumphant epic of a people who were bursting with the local pride born of the power and strength which Siddharāja had created. In it, provincial consciousness masqueraded under the imagery and phrase which the earlier Brāhmaṇa poets with an all India consciousness had enshrined in literature.

Spotless in character and selfless in intention, this sādhu bent his scholarship as well as his statesmanship to the sole objective of securing power for his community and glory for his faith. When Kumārapāla was wandering as an exile, persecuted by the fiery wrath of his uncle, it was Udayana who gave him an asylum and it was Hemacandra who foretold that he was going to be the future ruler of Gujarat.⁹⁵ These two men from that date pledged themselves to secure Kumārapāla's succession to the throne. Siddharāja, there is little doubt, knew that Kumārapāla was the nominee of the Jains. His aversion to Kumārapāla had something to do with it. He had frowned on Udayana for having given Kumārapāla an asylum.⁹⁶ He confined Hemacandra to the literary sphere. He turned a deaf ear, when possibly Hemacandra or some one of the Jain ministers suggested the appointment of Kumārapāla as a yuvarāja. The monarch was no doubt against the succession of the hated line of Devaprasāda, though otherwise, he had treated the family well. Mahīpāla, Kumārapāla's elder brother, lived in the capital and was not persecuted. Kumārapāla's sisters were married, one to the king of Sambhar, the other to his leading general Kṛṣṇadeva.⁹⁷ But Hemacandra was the younger man; and he had the patience of a man working for the glory of his faith.

According to Merutuṅga, on Kārtika Suda 3 of v.s. 1199 (1143 A.C.) Siddharāja died. When he died, Pāṭaṇa, the heart of Gūjaradeśa, missed a throb. Gūjaradeśa was ready, as at death of Nagabhaṭa II, to take the next stride to an all India suzerainty; but it knew not its next master.

⁹³ PC, 60.

⁹⁴ DV, I, 138.

⁹⁵ PC, 77-78.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 78.

CHAPTER IX

KUMĀRAPĀLA, (1144—1174 A.C.).

KUMĀRAPĀLA was fifty when the succession to the throne of Pāṭaṇa opened.¹ After the murder of his father, Tribhuvanapāla, he had wandered² from place to place in exile accompanied by his loyal wife Bhūpāladevī, and had lived at Stambhatīrtha, Bhṛgukaccha, Ujjayinī, Citrakūṭa, and even Kāñcī according to a later legend. In his exile, he had more than a man's share of the world's afflictions, and was already a tired man when ultimately destiny showed him the pathway to imperial Pāṭaṇa.

I

On the death of Siddharāja, the party of which Hemacandra was the head, mobilised its forces to secure Kumārapāla's accession. The leaders of this party, ministers and generals, are naturally described by Somaprabha "as surpassing Brhaspati in wisdom." They were Sajjana, the governor of Saurāṣṭra in Jayasimha's time, a Jain; Āliga a minister; Dādāka, the prime minister; his son Mahādeva the governor of Malwa, and the purohita of the Cālukyās, Āmiga or his father Sarvadeva. Among the military leaders who favoured Kumārapāla's accession were Vaijjāla-deva, who later came to be styled Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka; Kāṇhaḍadeva or Kṛṣṇa-deva, the general in charge of cavalry and the husband of Kumārapāla's sister, Premaladevī; the general Mahāsādhnika Rājyapāla, who ultimately became the governor of east Malwa, and the Brāhmaṇa general called Karka or Kāka.

The Nestor of the group, however, was the patient old man, Udayana, who was working for Kumārapāla all these years. Originally a Śrīmāla of Jhalor in Marwar he was married to Suhadevī of Dholka. Appointed a minister by Karṇa, he successfully occupied the distinguished office of the governor, first, of Lāṭa, and then, of Stambhatīrtha, an *entrepôt*.³ He was a devout Jain and enormously rich. He was responsible for the initiation of Hemacandra when a boy, and had sheltered Kumārapāla for some time in his exile even by incurring the displeasure of the formidable Jayasimha. There is little doubt that he remained in touch with Kumārapāla throughout his exile. When Jayasimha lay dying, his eldest son Vāgbhaṭa was a senior minister and his protegee Hemacandra, the most eminent of the Jain

¹ PC, 78.

² KUC, III, 67, 69; PC, 77; KP, 23 : कुमारो दधिस्थित्यादौ भोपालदेवीप्रियां भ्रात्रा यां च मुक्त्वा जटाघारीभूय प्रच्छन्नं भूमौ बभ्राम । *Moha-rāja-parvāṭa*, I, 28 : एको यः सकलं कुतूहलितया बभ्राम भूमण्डलम् ।

³ PC, 56, 77, 86; KUC, III, 474; DV, XX, 91-92.

Sādhus, was not only the leading man of learning in Pāṭaṇa but practically the head of the pro-Kumārāpāla party.

This party opposed the selection of Mahīpāla, the elder brother of Kumārāpāla, and for eighteen days there was an interregnum, when Siddharāja's sandals reigned.⁴ If the ministers favouring Kumārāpāla were, according to the Jain *Prabandhas*, "wise like Bṛhaspati", Kṛṣṇadeva, the brother-in-law of Kumārāpāla, was also there to wield the thunderbolt of Indra for him. He 'made the forces ready for battle.'⁵ A coup d'état followed, and Kumārāpāla, according to Merutuṅga, came to the throne of Pāṭaṇa on Kārttika vada 2, v.s. 1199 (1143 A.C.). This date, however, is legendary. The epigraphic evidence establishes that Siddharāja was alive till 1200 v.s. or later.⁶ The accession of Kumārāpāla, therefore, cannot be placed before 1144 A.C.

II

The important events and epigraphic records of Kumārāpāla's reign are as follows :—

1144 A.C. Accession.

1145 A.C. (v.s. 1202) 32 Simha Saṁvatsara. Stone pillar inscription at Mangrol set up by a Guhila chief, whose forefather Sahajīga was a general of the Cālukya forces.⁷

1145 ? A.C. (v.s. 1201 ?). Inscription at Gala in modern Dhrangadhra State. Prime minister is Mādhava. Ambāprasāda and Cāhaḍa are also referred to as mahāmātya but in charge of other departments. Sahajīga of the Mangrol inscription is also referred to.⁸

1145 A.C. Inscription of Saṁvatsara.⁹

1145 A.C. Stone inscription at Dohad. It refers to Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vapanadeva residing at Godrahaka, modern Godhra.¹⁰

1148. A.C. Reference in an inscription to Paramāra Someśvara (c. 1141—c. 1162 A.C.), a feudatory of Kumārāpāla, ruling at Kiradu in Marwar.¹¹

⁴ KP, 33 : पत्तने पादुकाराज्यं मरणं सिद्धभूपतेः । CP, 107.

⁵ PC, 78 : प्रातस्तेन भावुकेन स्वसैन्यं सन्नह्य नृपसौधमानीयाऽभिषेकपरीक्षानिमित्तं प्रथममेकः कुमारः पट्टे निवेशितः ।

⁶ Chap. VIII, n. 26.

⁷ BPSI, 158-60; *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, 179.

⁸ *Poona Orientalist*, I, 40.

⁹ HIG, III, n. 144, EE, 199.

¹⁰ Inscribed on the inscription referred to in Chap. VIII, n. 21; IA, X, 159; DHURVA took it to belong to Jayasirha's reign. Chap. VIII, nn. 99-102.

¹¹ PJS, Pt. I, 251; JBORS, XVIII, 40; HR, I, 204-05.

- 1150 A.C. The stone inscription on a black marble in the temple of Samiddheśvara at Chitor, in the Udaipur State, wherein Kumārapāla's visit to the temple after his victory over the king of Śākambharī is described.¹²
- ? Fragmentary inscription of Chitor, wherein the genealogy from Mūlarāja to Jayasimha is described.¹³
- 1151 A.C. Vaṇnagar Praśasti, composed by Śrīpāla, the 'adopted brother' of Siddharāja and styled Kavi Cakravartī. It describes the genealogy of the Cālukyas and eulogises the life of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura.¹⁴
- 1153 A.C. Stone pillar inscription at Kiradu, a village in Marwar in Rajputana, wherein Kumārapāla is referred to as Rājā-dhirāja. Mahārāja Ālhaṇadeva of Naddūla inscribed on it an edict prohibiting the slaughter of animal life on specified days in the month on the penalty of death.¹⁵
- 1153 A.C. Inscription in a temple at Pali in Jodhpur.¹⁶
- Stone inscription at Ratanpur in the Jodhpur State. An edict was issued by Girijādevī, Mahārājñī of Pūnapākṣadeva, the successor of Mahārāja Rājapāla, the Cāhamāna of Naddūla, in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhāṭṭāraka Parameśvara Kumārapāla. It prohibited the slaughter of animals on specified dates.¹⁷
- 1154 A.C. Stone pillar inscription at Bhatunda near Bijapur in the Jodhpur State. It refers to Daṇḍanāyaka Vaijaka, the military governor of Naddūla, which was a province of Gujarat.¹⁸
- 1156 A.C. The plate recording a grant by Mahāmāṇḍalika Pratāpasimha in the village of Nadol in the Jodhpur State.¹⁹ Kumārapāla is referred to as having conquered the king of Śākambharī. Bāhaḍadeva was mahāmātya.

¹² *EI*, II, 421-24.

¹³ *ASI*, W.C., (1905-06), 61, No. 2220; *EI*, XX, 209, No. 1522.

¹⁴ *EI*, I, 296, 301; vs. 30 : एकाहनिष्पन्नमहाप्र—धः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबंधुः । श्रीपालनामा

कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥

¹⁵ *BPSI*, 172.

¹⁶ *EI*, XI, 70.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, Appendix, 209, No. 1523; *BPSI*, 206.

¹⁸ *ASI*, (W.C.), (1907-08), 51-52.

¹⁹ *IA*, XLI, 202-203 : श्रीमदणहिलपाटके । रामस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

परमेश्वरउमापतिवरलक्ष्मप्रसादप्रौढप्रतापनिजभुजविक्रमणगणविनिर्जितशकभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवकल्याणव-
जयराज्ये ।

- 1159 A.C. Inscription on a lintel at Bali, in the Jodhpur State. Vaij-jaladeva was Daṇḍanāyaka at Naddūla.²⁰
- The undated inscription at Prachi. Guṇadeva, son of Kakkaka, was the governor of Kumārapāla at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa and controlled the Ābhīra chiefs.²¹
- 1161 A.C. Another inscription at Kiradu by Paramāra Someśvara.²²
- 1163 A.C. Stone inscription in a temple at Udayapura in the Gwalior State. Mahāmātya Yaśodhavalā is referred to as managing the affairs of the State.²³
- 1164 A.C. Stone inscription in a Jain vihāra at Jābālipura, modern Jhalor in the Jodhpur State. Kumārapāla is styled Gūrjaradharādhiśvara Paramārhat-Cālukya-Mahārājādhirāja. The image of Pārśvanātha was erected at the request of 'Prabhu' Hema Sūri.²⁴
- 1166 A.C. Stone pillar inscription of Udayapura in Gwalior State.²⁵ It refers to a Ṭhakkura Cohada.
- 1169 A.C. Valabhī Samvat 850. Praśasti of Bhāva Bṛhaspati at Veraval in Kathiawar.²⁶
- 1169 A.C. Stone inscription at Junagadh recording the erection of a Jain temple by the last prince of Ānandanagara.²⁷
- 1171 A.C. Stone inscription at Nadol (Jodhpur State) describing the building of a maṇḍapa in a Śiva temple. Kalhaṇa was ruling at Naddūla.²⁸

III

Things were not easy in Pāṭaṇa nor outside when Kumārapāla was placed on the throne. Conspirators who wanted to murder the new king had to be disposed off; hostile ministers had 'to be despatched to the abode of Yama'; the impertinence of Kṛṣṇadeva, the king-maker, had to be checked with the aid of a few athletes, who broke his bones and blinded him.²⁹

Arjorāja of Śākambharī and Ballāla of Malwa in concert also raised the

²⁰ *ASI*, (W.C.), (1907-08), 54.

²¹ *Poona Orientalist*, I, 4, 38-39, vs. 6 : तेन क्षमापतिना न्ययुज्यत मुदा निर्व्याजवीर्यो-
जित-स्फारप्रौढिविलासमंदिमसौ श्रीकक्षस्यात्मजः । श्रीसोमेश्वरपत्तनावनविधौ श्रीगुप्तदेवो बली, यत्स्वङ्गाहृतभीति
कंपतरलैराभीरवीरैः स्थितम् ॥

²² *EI*, XX, Appendix, 47, n. 312.

²³ *IA*, XVIII, 341-43.

²⁴ *EI*, XI, 54-55 : संवत् १२२१ श्रीजावालिपुरीयकांचनगिरिगढस्योपरि प्रभुश्रीहेमसूरिप्रबोधित-
गूर्जरधराधीश्वरपरमार्हतचौलक्यमहाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारपालदेवकारिते.....।

²⁵ *IA*, XVIII, 343-44.

²⁶ *WZKM*, III, 1; *BPSI*, 186-188.

²⁷ *EI*, XX, Appendix, 189, n. 1381; *BPSI*, 184.

²⁸ *EI*, XI, 47-48.

²⁹ *PC*, 79; *KP*, 34 : नृपस्तु तदा तदाकारसंवरणेनापह्वं विधायपरस्मिन् दिने कृतसङ्केतैः स्वमलैस्त-
दङ्गभङ्गं कारयित्वा नेत्रयुगलमुद्धृत्य कृष्णदेवभावुकं तदावासे प्रेषीत् ।

standard of independence. Arṇorāja or Ārṇarāja or Āna (1139-1153 A.C.) had been a loyal feudatory and the son-in-law of Jayasimha ; his minor son Someśvara had been brought up by the old emperor. But on the news of Jayasimha's death, he with some other feudatories marched on Gujarat. Cāhaḍa or Bāhaḍa, the general in charge of the elephant division of the army of Gujarat and a favourite of Siddharāja, joined him. This general Bāhaḍa, who was different from the son of Udayana bearing the same name, 'won over officers by bribes, attentions and gifts, and aided by Arṇorāja arrived at the borders of Gujarat'. Whether Arṇorāja was bidding for the throne of Pāṭaṇa for his son Someśvara or was only out to reduce Gujarat to vassalage is difficult to say.

Kumārapāla assisted by Sajjana, the minister, marched against Arṇorāja. The fortunes of the battle swayed for a time. The position of Kumārapāla became serious. Some divisions of the army openly declared mutiny. The driver of the royal elephant himself refused to join in the battle. Kumārapāla's personal leadership rose to the occasion. The forces of the enemy were routed. Bāhaḍa was taken prisoner and Arṇorāja was wounded in battle.³⁰ As a result the Cāhamāna submitted and gave his daughter in marriage to Kumārapāla.³¹

Mahārājādhirāja Rājyapāla, the nephew of Āśārāja, held sway in Marwar between 1133 to 1145 A.C. side by side with Āśārāja and his son Kaṭudeva. Kaṭudeva, however, is recorded to have been reigning at Naddūla in Simha Saṃvat 31-32, but curiously the name of his sovereign Jayasimha is omitted from the grant.³² Evidently, therefore, Kaṭudeva about the time of Jayasimha's death took advantage of the confusion in Pāṭaṇa and declared his independence. Kumārapāla came down upon Kaṭudeva swiftly, and the Cāhamāna was removed from the rulership of Malwa.

No inscription of the Cāhamānas is forthcoming between 1146 and 1161 A.C. from Naddūla. On the contrary, Marwar was governed between 1134 and 1160 A.C. by Vaijjaladeva, the military governor of Kumārapāla. The annexation of Malwa to Gujarat can only be a step in the campaigns of Kumārapāla against Arṇorāja, and Kaṭudeva may be presumed to have joined Arṇorāja in his war against Pāṭaṇa.

A little before 1152 A.C., however, a descendant, Āhaṇadeva, the son of Āśārāja had obtained 'by the grace of his sovereign lord Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Kumārapāla' a principality consisting of Kiradu in modern Jodhpur State, Raddhada and Śivā in Marwar, when Mahādeva, the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, was the prime minister at Pāṭaṇa.³³ Āhaṇa helped Kumārapāla in suppressing a revolt in Saurāṣṭra,³⁴ and Naddūla seems to

³⁰ DV, XVI, 14, 15 ; PC, 79 ; VV, III, 29 ; *Vastupāla Tejapāla Praśasti* (GOS, X), 58, vs. 25.

³¹ DV, XIX, 21 : वसता दक्षिणा रम्यं तस्य मुनेः समम् । मात्रा सह गुरुं प्रैषीदानस्ते दातुमत्सजाम् ॥

³² EI, XI, 33-34.

³³ *Ibid.*, 43-46.

³⁴ *Ibid.* IX, 72.

have been granted to him as a reward ; for, in 1163 A.C., he was in charge of the capital of Marwar. In 1163 A.C., he was succeeded by his son Kelhaṇa, who reigned as a Mahārāja upto about 1192 A.C. The position of these Cāhamānas was inferior to that of ordinary feudatories, as they were consistently styled Mahārājas.

The war with Arṇorāja was not so short as described by Hemacandra. In the course of this war the country of Sapādalakṣa, over which Arṇorāja ruled, was devastated. Kumārāpāla with his victorious army then encamped at Sālipura near modern Chitor in the Udaipur State. It was only in 1150 A.C. when the whole of Rajputana was reduced to submission that Kumārāpāla, accompanied by his father-in-law Arṇorāja and his general Sajjana, went to worship Samiddheśvara at Chitor. On this occasion, Kumārāpāla made a gift of a village to the temple, while his Daṇḍanāyaka donated an oil mill.³⁵

The death of Siddharāja was also a signal for a revolt in Malwa. As stated before, Jayasīrṇha between 1135-1138 A.C. annexed Malwa as part of his empire, and Māhādeva, the son of the prime minister Dādāka, was appointed a viceroy to rule over it. Yaśovarmā, the vanquished king of Malwa, continued to rule over some small part of it as a petty chieftain—'Mahārāja'. Yaśovarmā died in c. 1130 A.C., and his son Jayavarmā, styling himself as Mahārājādhirāja, established himself at Vardhamānapurī evidently as a feudatory in 1142 A.C. A small slice of Malwa was ruled from Inṅanapaṭa, modern Ingoda, by Vijayapāladeva, who styled himself Parameśvara.³⁶

Yet another part of Malwa was ruled by a king named Ballāla. Between 1143 and 1144 A.C. the king of Malwa, who can be no other than Jayavarmā, was overpowered by more than one king. Claims to have done so are made by the Candella Madanavarmā³⁷ (1128-1163 A.C.) and by Jagadekamalla (1139-1150 A.C.), the Cālukya of Kalyāṇi, assisted by the Hoysala Narasīrṇha I.³⁸ The name Ballāla is common among the Hoysalas of Mysore, and it is likely that he may have been the viceroy or a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II.³⁹ When in alliance with Arṇorāja, Ballāla raised the standard of revolt, Kumārāpāla sent an army to Malwa under his general Karka or Kāka—Gūrjara-Brahma-senānī—who was in charge of the army of Lāṭa

³⁵ n. 12 : तस्मिन्नमरसाम्राज्यं संप्राप्ते नियतेर्वशात् । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्प्रतापाक्रांतशात्रवः ॥ स्वतेजसा-
प्रसहो न परं येन शात्रवः । पदं भूभृच्छिरस्सूचैः कारितो बंधुरप्यलं ॥ आज्ञा यस्य महीनाथैश्चतुरम्बुधिमध्यगैः ।
ध्रियते मूर्धमिर्नम्रैर्देवशेषैव सन्ततम् ॥ महीश्रुतिकुजेषु शाकंभरीशः प्रियापुत्रलेकेन शाकंभरीशः । अपि
प्रात्तशत्रुर्भयात्कंप्रभूतः स्थितौ यस्य मतेभवाजिप्रभूतः ॥ सपादलक्षमामर्थं नम्रीकृतभयानकः । स्वयमायान्म-
हीनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥

³⁶ IA, VI, 55 : महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविजयपालदेवेन भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य...

³⁷ EI, I, 198, vs. 15 : येनौद्धत्यं दधानः स च सपदि समुन्मूलितो मालवेशः

³⁸ Mysore Inscriptions, 58, 153, 61. ³⁹ HP, 172.

at Nandipurī. Yaśodhavalā, the Paramāra of Abu, was also a military leader of this campaign.⁴⁰ Kāka had no easy time against Ballāla. Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, the two feudatories of Kumārapāla, openly joined Ballāla. At one time, the army of Gujarat began to retreat, despite its general's exhortations. But his enthusiasm was catching, and Ballāla was ultimately brought down from his elephant and killed in front of the Gūjara-Brahma-senānī.⁴¹

Malwa was, then, divided into several provinces and Mahāśādhaniśa Rājyapāla was appointed the military governor of the western division with his headquarters at Udayapura near Bhilsa. The eastern province was called Bhaillāsāmī-mahādeva-deśaka, modern Bhilsa, which continued to remain part of Gujarat till, at any rate, the death of Ajayapāla in 1175 A.C.⁴²

IV

On his return from the conquest of Arṇorāja, Kumārapāla punished Vikramasinha, the feudatory of the king of Candrāvati (Abu), for his disloyalty. He captured the city, imprisoned the ruler, and gave his principality to his nephew Yaśodhavalā who had helped him in the war against Ballāla.⁴³ The reduction of Malwa, therefore, ended after the war with Arṇorāja was over. During these wars, according to the *Prabandhas*, Kumārapāla appointed Āliga and Udayana elder statesmen and Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa the prime minister. If the inscription of Gala⁴⁴ is dated 1201 v.s., it would show that Mādhava was the prime minister from 1145 A.C., that is, right from the beginning.

About 1150 A.C., when the king was still busy with his campaign in Marwar and Sapādalakṣa, there was a revolt in Saurāṣṭra. The old minister Udayana and the Cāhamāna prince Ālhaṇadeva of Naddūla led the armies of Gujarat.⁴⁵ Udayana, then almost a centenarian, was mortally wounded and died.

Arṇorāja of Śākambharī was succeeded by Jugadeva, the eldest son by his first wife, and within a short time in c. 1152 A.C., by a younger son Viśaladeva Vighraharāja IV, the author of a drama called *Harakeli-naṭaka*.⁴⁶ He styled himself Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara in 1153 A.C. and no longer acknowledged Kumārapāla as his suzerain. But there was an undoubted understanding between Kumārapāla and his Cāhamāna brother-in-law Vighraharāja. Leaving the south to his more formidable relative, the Cāhamāna struck out in the north. Once only did he try to invade Marwar ruled by Cāhamāna Ālhaṇadeva, the feudatory of Kumārapāla; he sacked Naddūla and Jābālipura.⁴⁷ His aggressive power led to the decline of the

⁴⁰ *EI*, VIII, 210-11, vs. 35 : रोदः कंदर्वात्किर्कीर्तिर्लिहरीलिप्तामृतांशुलुने-रप्रद्युम्नवशो यशोधवल इत्यासीत्तनूजन्ततः । यच्चौलुम्नकुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतं-मन्वा सत्वरमेव मालवपतिं बल्लालमालव्यवान् ॥

⁴¹ *DV*, XVI, 22-23; *IA*, IV, 268; *PC*, 95; *VV*, III, 29.

⁴² *IA*, XVIII, 344-45.

⁴³ n. 40.

⁴⁴ n. 8.

⁴⁵ *PC*, 86; *EI*, IX, 72.

⁴⁶ *IA*, XX, 201.

⁴⁷ *JASB*, I, 31, 42.

Yamīnī kings and earned for him the reputation of 'having exterminated the mlecchas'.⁴⁸ He captured Delhi and cleared the region between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and became the guardian of the gateway of India. Vīgraharāja was a great military leader as also a patron of literature.

In c. 1164 A.C. Vīgraharāja was succeeded by his son Aparā Gāṅgeya. After a very short reign Aparā Gāṅgeya was succeeded by Pṛthvībhāṭa or Pṛthvīrāja II (1167-1170 A.C.), the son of Jugadeva. He also led a successful campaign against the Yamīnī prince, Khusrau Malik Tājūd-Daulah (1162-1186 A.C.).

Vīgraharāja and Pṛthvībhāṭa represented the branch of Arṇorāja's first queen Sudhavā. Arṇorāja by his junior wife Kāñcanadevī, Siddharāja's daughter, had a son called Someśvara. Between the death of his father Arṇorāja in about 1152 A.C. and his accession in 1170 A.C. Someśvara lived at the court of Kumārapāla, whose favourite he was. He was also living at Pāṭaṇa during the life-time of his grand-father Siddharāja, who might have entertained the idea of his succeeding him to the throne of Pāṭaṇa. Someśvara, while in Pāṭaṇa, had married the daughter of the Kalacuri prince of Tripurī named Karpūradevī.⁴⁹ There, to Someśvara and Karpūradevī, was born Pṛthvīrāja of immortal glory.

Kumārapāla's statesmanship had, thus, maintained the continued alliance between Gujarat and Sapādalakṣa, the two most formidable units of GŪrjaradeśa. On the death of Pṛthvīrāja II in 1170 A.C., Someśvara came to the throne of Ajayameru, modern Ajmer. Though not strictly a feudatory, he remained a loyal ally of Pāṭaṇa during his life.

The conquest of Koṅkaṇa, the last exploit of the reign of Kumārapāla, was due to the leadership of Someśvara⁵⁰ and minister, Āmrabhāṭa, Udayana's youngest son, and Yaśodhavala, the Paramāra of Abu, who had also helped in the war of Malwa.⁵¹ Merutuṅga in ecstatic admiration of Āmrabhāṭa gives a description of his war against Mallikārjuna of Koṅkaṇa of the Śilāhāra dynasty.⁵²

Mallikārjuna was the king of North Koṅkaṇa ruling from Thana or Purī as it was called then. His last inscription is dated v.s. 1216 (1160 A.C.). This war must have, therefore, taken place between 1160 and 1170 A.C., when Someśvara left Pāṭaṇa to become the king of Ajmer. Merutuṅga gives the story of the campaign as to how Kumārapāla called upon Āmrabhāṭa to lead the army to destroy Mallikārjuna, 'the semblance of a king'; how he encamped on the other bank of the river Kalaviṇī, modern Kaverī; how he was suddenly attacked and put to flight by Mallikārjuna. Kumārapāla, evidently, sent a reinforcement. Āmrabhāṭa then crossed the river by

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* XIX, 215, C² : आर्यावर्तं यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान् म्लेच्छविच्छेदनाभि-हैवः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते वीसलक्षोणिपालः ॥

⁴⁹ *JRAS.* (1913), 277.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 274,

⁵¹ n. 40.

⁵² *PC*, 80.

throwing a bridge across it and defeated the Koṅkaṇa army, killing Mallikārjuna with his own hand. Mallikārjuna's head was then set in gold and was presented by the victor to his master at Pāṭaṇa. Kumārapāla then conferred on him the title of Rājapitāmaha.

The assessment of Kumārapāla's personality and achievement becomes difficult by his having been placed on a mythic pedestal by the *Prabandhas*. In his *Kumārapāla-carita*, IV Canto, Jayasimhasūri, the Jain author, gives the description of the digvijaya of Kumārapāla in the traditional vein. Marching from Aṇahilapāṭaka, he halted at Jābālipura, partaking of the hospitality of its governor. Then he invaded Sapādalakṣa. Arṇorāja, his brother-in-law, offered him homage. Then he invaded the Kuru Maṇḍala, but halted on the banks of the Ganges. Then he marched on Malwa. On the way the lord of Citrakūṭa offered him hospitality. He captured the ruler of Revātīrtha. He then crossed the river, entered the land of the Ābhīras and subdued the king of Prakāśanagarī. He turned west from the Vindhyas and defeated the lord of Lāṭa. He subdued the lords of Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha and marched against Pañcanadādhipa. Having subdued the king of the Punjab, he vanquished Mūlarāja, the lord of Mūlsthāna or Multan. From there the victorious king returned to the south. The poet then sums up :

‘The Ganges to the east ; the Vindhyas to the south, the Sindhu in the west and in the north, where rules the Turuṣkas—these were the bounds in which the Cālukyas roamed with victorious might.’⁵³

The epigraphic evidence does not support the story of this victorious march ; the more authentic literary records contradict it. But practically the whole of the old Gūrjaradeśa continued to be under his sway ; Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha were completely absorbed in it, and Koṅkaṇa was a vassal state. That he came into conflict with the Yamīnīs and defeated them may be accepted as historical, for they were right on the borders of Someśvara's kingdom.

V

The *Prabandhas* claim that Kumārapāla gave up Śaivism to embrace Jainism in 1160 A.C. under the advice of Hemacandra.⁵⁴ The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that the king assumed the title of ‘Paramārhat’ after listening to the teachings of Mahāvīra ; that he requested Hemacandra to write some of that scholar's works for him ; that he prohibited taking of animal life in his empire ; that he got erected 14,140 Jain temples ; and that he accepted the twelve vows of Jainism.⁵⁵ Jayasimha in the *Kumārapāla-carita*⁵⁶ describes the religious zeal of the royal convert in six cantos. After giving

⁵³ KUC, IV, 1-118 ; *Ibid.*, vs. 117 : आगंगमैन्द्रीमाविन्त्यं याम्यामासिधु पथिमाम् । आतुरुष्कं च कौबेरीं, चौलुक्यः साधयिष्यति ॥ ; KP, 35-36 ; Hemacandra, *Mahāvīracarita*, XII, 52 ; *Sukṛtakīrti-Kallolīnī* (GOS X) Appendix, II, 76, vs. 60.

⁵⁴ PC, 86 ; KPR, 396 ; KUC, VII.

⁵⁵ PC, 86.

⁵⁶ V, 24 ff ; VI, 577 ff ; VII, 581 ff.

up the vices under Hemacandra's advice Kumārapāla went on pilgrimage to Somanātha, where god Śiva himself, on the invocation of Hemacandra, appeared before him and lauded Jainism. The king, thereupon, took the 'vow of not eating flesh and his mind became firmly placed in Jain Dharma'. When the king finally accepted Śrāvaka Dharma, he prohibited taking of life by promulgating an edict in Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Ābhīra, Medapāṭa, Marwar and Sapādalakṣa. Thus the description of Kumārapāla's zeal in the new faith varies with the evangelical fervour of each author.

The *Prabandhas* attribute to Kumārapāla two reforms which are claimed as the result of his conversion to Jainism. First, that he gave up the right of the Crown to succeed to a person dying sonless; second, that he prohibited killing of animal life throughout his empire.

The *Smṛtis* laid down that the estate of a deceased escheated to the Crown, only if he died without leaving not only a son but any one of diverse categories of heirs, the last of which was the guru and the co-student.⁵⁷ But in practice, at the time, some kings departed from this rule of law and property of a person dying sonless was confiscated.⁵⁸ It is impossible to believe that the rule of the *Śāstras* was unknown or unacceptable in Gujarat up to the twelfth century. Kumārapāla can only be credited for having upheld the strict rule of the *Dharma Śāstras* as regards devolution of property, a reform which need not necessarily be traced to exclusive Jain influence.

As regards the other reform, meat and drink were generally taken by people of all classes other than Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas and the Jains. Drink was frowned upon by the Hindu *Śāstras*. On Hemacandra's authority, Kumārapāla stopped the killing of animals by butchers and hunters and the offering of goats as religious sacrifice and those who lost their livelihood by this ban were provided with three years' maintenance by the king.⁵⁹ This, no doubt, the king did under the influence of Hemacandra. But the later *Prabandhas* are not quite content with this achievement claimed by a contemporary. It was taken to absurd lengths. According to Merutuṅga, a rich man killed a louse. The king got him arrested like a thief and confiscated all his wealth and got Yūkaviḷāra or the Monastery of the Louse built with the funds.⁶⁰ There is no epigraphic evidence showing that Kumārapāla prohibited killing of animals; on the contrary, the undated inscription of Girijādevī, the queen of Pūnapākṣadeva, the feudatory of Kumārapāla at Naddūla, prohibits only killing on the 11th, 14th and 15th of every month.⁶¹ In a similar inscription of 1153 A.C. found at Kiradu, Ālhaṇadeva, the viceroy of Kumārapāla, prohibits only killing of life on the 8th, 11th and 14th of every month on a penalty of 5 dramma in ordinary cases and one dramma in the case of a servant of the king.⁶²

⁵⁷ *Manu*, IX, 158 ff; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 12; *Arthaśāstra*, III, 60.

⁵⁸ *Śākuntala*, Act VI; *Saṃyukta-nikāya*, I, 9.

⁵⁹ *DV*, XX, 1-27; 37.

⁶⁰ *PC*, 91.

⁶¹ n. 17.

⁶² n. 15.

The claim of the *Prabandhas*, therefore, as to the nature and extent of the edicts is unfounded. But Kumārapāla accepted Hemacandra as his guide, philosopher and friend not only in social and ethical matters but also in matters political. 'He loved Jainism' as Someśvara puts it.⁶³ In 1165 A.C. the Jain community had already begun to call him Arhat and Hemacandra, Prabhu or Lord. Hemacandra himself though very liberal-minded worked for the glory of his faith ; but the party in power over which he presided until his death was dominated by devout Jains, who looked upon the king as of their own faith, and styled him Paramārhat to advertise the fact. This party was not slow to treat others as it had been treated when out of power. The *Skanda Purāṇa*⁶⁴ contains an account of how Dharmāraṇya, the region of Moḍhera, a great Brahmanical centre, was made to feel the force of the fanatic Jains.

But Kumārapāla never forswore his ancestral faith. Even Merutuṅga and Jayasimha attributed his partiality to Jainism on account of his devotion to his guardian deity Somanātha. In the Udayapur inscription of 1164 A.C., in the colophon of the manuscript of a Prākṛta work *Pythvīcandra-carita* by Śāntisūri, written in 1169 A.C., and in Bhāva Brhaspati's inscription⁶⁵ of the same year, he is described as a devotee of Śiva.

Bhoja and Bhīma I built the stone temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa in 1030 A.C. After hundred and forty years another temple rose in its place by the munificence of Bhīma's great-grand-son, Kumārapāla. The devout king, his eyes dimmed with the weight of nearly three quarters of a century, saw the spires of the temple, magnificent as Kailāsa standing against the clear sky, its steps laved by the waves of the western sea. He felt proud to dedicate it to the guardian deity Somanātha as his ancestor Bhīma I had done once before him. He gave presents to his venerable guru Bhāva Brhaspati, the head of the Pāśupata sampradāya, who was learned beyond measure ; the Guru was respected by all ; the idol of pilgrims, handsome like Nakulīśa himself, worshipped by the sages ; the preceptor of kings, firmly established in devotion to Śiva, to whom divine knowledge was bliss. The king embraced the saintly Brāhmaṇa, bowed low before him ; and placed upon his venerable finger the royal signet-ring in token of having installed him and his descendants to the headship of the shrine.

VI

Among kings, Kumārapāla is a unique figure. Building wondrous feats of architecture or collecting poets and scholars round him had no appeal for him. He was incapable of indulging in grandiose projects of conquest or monument building, and did not love incense. He was called to the throne ; seasoned by adversity as few kings before him were, he was peace-loving. He

⁶³ KK, II, 3.

⁶⁴ *Skanda*, III, 2, Chap. 36 ff.

⁶⁵ n. 26 ; *BPSI*, 187, vs. 11 : गंडो भावबृहस्पतिः स्मरतिषोद्धीक्ष्य देवालयं जीर्णं भूपतेमाह

preserved the empire which he inherited. He ruled not only well and wisely but like his-uncle the great Siddharāja virtuously though not as valorously. Throughout life he was studious of self-perfection, making the pursuit of morals his purpose in life. He harnessed his zeal as a moralist to his duty as a king ; he wanted to uphold Dharma as the memorable kings of old. Slowly he withdrew from the active affairs of the state ; the group of statesmen dominated by Hemacandra looked after his empire. He was loyal to his allies and feudatories and they remained loyal to him ; a curious thing for the age, possible only because he was as much feared as respected. He conquered but without ambition. His main desire was to lead a stern and disciplined life and to place his people on the path of purity and ahimsā.

He left his bed very early, recited mantras. He took his bath and worshipped in the temple attached to the palace. Then he proceeded to Kumāravihāra on an elephant, surrounded by his ministers. There he offered eightfold worship. Then he proceeded to Hemacandra, paid him respects and listened to his religious discourses. At mid-day, he returned gave alms, offered prasāda to the deities, sent offerings to the temples, then he dined himself. An assembly of the learned followed, where the king discussed religious and philosophic discourses. In the fourth prahara (afternoon) he presided over the royal courts, transacted affairs of the state, and disposed of petitions. He then attended to wrestling exhibitions and elephant fights, more as a royal duty than from a love of sport.

Two Ghaṭikās (forty-eight minutes) before sun-set he took his evening meal. He dropped a meal on the 8th and 14th of each half of the month. Then followed worship ; āratī by dancing girls ; musical concerts and bardic recitals. This highly coloured picture,⁶⁶ drawn by devout Jains, even after making due allowance for exaggeration, presents an interesting picture.

After the first war with Arjorāja, Kumārapāla gave up going to wars. When Siddharāja died Gūrjaradeśa had been on the threshold of an imperial career. Kumārapāla lacked the youth, energy and ambition to embark upon it. Indulgently he allowed Vighraharāja to grow strong in the north rather than drag him into an internecine feud for reducing him to vassalage. But the one-sided picture of a highly moral king given by the *Prabandhas* need not blind the historian to the weakness that was creeping into the power and authority of Pāṭaṇa which Siddharāja had created. The pacific counsel of the Hemacandra group weakened the military power of Gujarat. The king was too old and too busy with moral reforms to give to India what Mihira Bhoja gave after Nāgabhaṭa II, a vigorous empire of Madhyadeśa which, while defending the frontiers of India, could sweep away the growing disintegration into an irresistible tide of political and cultural energy.

The choice of an heir presented difficulties, and Kumārapāla was torn by divided counsel. Hemacandra advised him to appoint Pratāpamalla, his

⁶⁶ KPR, 422-23 ; KCA, I, 61-90.

daughter's son, his heir, and in no event to appoint his nephew his successor ; for, Ajayapāla, Mahīpāla's son, was the spearhead of the anti-Jain section. Even the disciples of Hemacandra were divided into two groups, one favouring Ajayapāla's succession and the other opposing it. The throne of Pāṭaṇa had become the concern of Hemacandra and his friends ; the race of warriors and statesmen, who had helped to build up the empire of Siddharāja and to retain it for Kumārapāla, was either extinct or forced into obscurity. Sajjana, Mahādeva and Kāka were perhaps dead or in disfavour. The dying king's two advisers were an old sādhu and a rich merchant Jainas both Jiuz ; their only military adviser was Āmrabhāṭa.

A few months before Hemacandra's death the court was rife with intrigues. Rāmacandra, the great dramatist and pupil of Hemacandra, was the leader of the Jain party. The anti-Jaina party was led possibly by Vaij-jaladeva, the great military governor, who favoured Ajayapāla.

In the early part of v.s. 1230 (1184 A.C.) Kumārapāla died, Hemacandra having predeceased him by thirty-two days.

The *Prabandhas* look upon the reign of Kumārapāla as their golden age. Hemacandra led the Jain authors to invest the Cālukya family with the dignity of Raghu's divine race ; Pāṭaṇa, with the halo of an Ayodhyā ; Kumārapāla, with the dignity of a Vikrama. In this way he laid the foundation in literature for the distinctive sense of modern Gujarat being great and its people a people with characteristic destiny. Thus did the localisation of sentiment find expression in a Gujarat-sense, very much restricted as compared to the great group sentiment, which prevailed in Gūrjaradeśa when the greatest of the Imperial Gūrjaras, Mihira Bhoja, a second Rāmacandra, represented Dharma based on a geographical and political unity of Āryāvarta.

VII

Ajayapāla came to the throne by a coup d'état. Perhaps Kumārapāla was poisoned.⁶⁷ The ministers and military leaders, who were restive under what was practically the rule of Hemacandra and his friends made a bid for power. Ajayapāla did away with the friends of Kumārapāla, just as Kumārapāla had done away with those who had opposed his accession.

Stories preserved by the *Prabandhas* of Ajayapāla's reign is enemy propaganda. Merutuṅga calls him a 'low villain.' According to him, Rāmacandra was tortured to death by being placed on a burning plate of copper. Āmrabhāṭa, the proud son of Udayana, who bore the title of Rājā-pitāmaha, declined to pay homage to the new king. He declared that he only worshipped Mahāvīra, the divinity ; Hemacandra, the guru ; and Kumārapāla, the master. The streets of Pāṭaṇa ran with the blood of

partisans engaged in civil strife. Āmrabhaṭa, the strong arm of Hema-candra's party, resisted by force. "He swept before him the king's men like chaff, marched with his men towards the tower from which time was announced," and says Merutuṅga, 'passed into heaven; Apsaras who had come to see the wondrous sight vying with each other in wooing him.'⁶⁸ Ajayapāla appointed Someśvara his prime minister. Kapardī, a devotee of the goddess Durgā and an enemy of the Jains, was one of the ministers.

The epigraphic finds of Ajayapāla's reign are few :—

1173 A.C. Stone inscription at Udayapura in Gwalior State. The 'illustrious' Lūnapasāka was the governor of Bhailla-svami-Mahādvaśakamaṇḍala, under Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, Parama Māheśvara Ajayapāladeva, the amātya being Someśvara.⁶⁹

1175 A.C. Inscription at Unjah in Kathiawar.⁷⁰

1175 A.C. The inscription deposited in the Bombay Secretariat, the find-spot of which is untraced. Mahāmātya was Someśvara.⁷¹

All authorities agree that Ajayapāla reigned for three years (1173-1176 A.C.).

Ajayapāla in his short career was a strong ruler. He gave no quarter to his enemies. Someśvara, the king of Sapādalakṣa, tried to throw off the allegiance but ended by sending a tribute in the shape of a golden pavilion⁷² in token of his subordinate allegiance. In fact since the days of Siddharāja, the old Gūrjaradeśa had been ruled by two independent kings, one the Cāhamāna of Sapādalakṣa and the other the Cālukya of Gujarat, bound in close alliance. The Gūrjara king was no doubt the senior partner. Only Guhila Sāmantasimha (c. 1171-1179 A.C.) of Medapāṭa tried to raise his head against Ajayapāla, but was soon brought under control. In this war Ajayapāla was supported by his feudatory Prahalādāna, the Paramāra chief of Abu⁷³ and the founder of modern Palanpur. Under Ajayapāla's

⁶⁸ PC, 97 : तेषां मलीमसानां सङ्गजनितं कश्मलं धरातीर्थे प्रक्षाल्य तत्कौतुक्कालेकनगताभिरसरो-भिरहंपूर्विकया त्रियमाणो देवभूयं जगाम ।

⁶⁹ IA, XVIII, 344-45, 347 : समस्तराजावलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्री अजयपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविमहामात्यश्रीसोमेश्वरे.....निजप्रतापोर्जितश्रीभैरवस्वामिमहा-द्वादशकमण्डल..... ।

⁷⁰ EI, XX, Appendix, 54, n. 363.

⁷¹ IA, XVIII, 80 : अजयपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये । तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामात्यश्रीसोमेश्वरे...।

⁷² PC, 96 : भूपालोऽजयपालोऽभूत्कल्पद्रुमसमस्ततः । चक्रे वसुन्धरा येन काञ्चनैरनकिञ्चना ॥ दण्डे-मण्डपिका हैमी सह मत्तैर्मतंगजैः । दत्त्वा पादं गले येन जाङ्गलेशादगृह्यत ॥ BG. I, Pt. I, 194.

⁷³ EI, VIII, 211 ; IA, (1924), 100 ; PJS, No. 64, v.s. 36 : सामंतसिंहसमिति क्षिति विक्षतौजः श्रीगूर्जरक्षितिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनुजोदनुजोत्तमारि—चारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार ॥

THE FEUDATORIES OF THE SECOND AND THIRD EMPIRES OF GŪJARADEŚA.

	The Śiwaśveta Mādha (Anahādva Pāṇa) Cakras	Śaṇḍabhaṣa (West Māla) Cakras	Paṇḍita Paṇḍita	Vaṇḍa (Dugam) Paṇḍita	Laja	Māṇḍa (Māsa) Gajapāṇa	Śaṇḍita Akṛa	Dhala Kakṛa	Kiṇḍa (Jodpur) Paṇḍita	Nadda Cakras	Paṇḍita (Buddhād) Cakras
A. C. 90	c. 942 Māraja	c. 942 Śaṇḍita	c. 942 Paṇḍita The Imperial Line c. 942 Paṇḍita II (also)	c. 942 Kāṇḍa (Kāṇḍa)		c. 942 Bhāṇḍita II	c. 942 Paṇḍita	c. 950 Lakṣmāraja Sakṛa		c. 961 Lakṣmāraja Sakṛa Bhāṇḍita	c. 961 Dhāṇḍa
		c. 973 Vāṇḍita	c. 973 Vāṇḍita II (or Māṇḍa) Paṇḍita Paṇḍita (or Śaṇḍita)			c. 973 Nāṇḍita (Sakṛa)	c. 973 Paṇḍita	c. 973 Vāṇḍita II	Sakṛa		
	c. 996 Cāṇḍita	c. 999 Dhāṇḍita	c. 999 Paṇḍita (or Nāṇḍita)			c. 977 Sakṛa					
100	c. 1010 Vāṇḍita	c. 1010 Vāṇḍita II Vāṇḍita II Cāṇḍita	c. 1010 Paṇḍita I	c. 1000 Cāṇḍita		c. 1000 Paṇḍita Nāṇḍita Anāṇḍita Kṛa	c. 1000 Paṇḍita	c. 1000 Gāṇḍita Vāṇḍita	c. 1000 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1000 Paṇḍita (or Māṇḍa) Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita) Vāṇḍita	c. 1010 Vāṇḍita (also Paṇḍita) Vāṇḍita
	c. 1022 Bhāṇḍita I	c. 1022 Bhāṇḍita I	c. 1022 Paṇḍita	c. 1022 Paṇḍita (also called Paṇḍita)		c. 1022 Paṇḍita Vāṇḍita Paṇḍita	c. 1022 Paṇḍita	c. 1022 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1022 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1022 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1022 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)
c. 1064 Kāṇḍita I	c. 1064 Kāṇḍita I	c. 1064 Kāṇḍita I	c. 1064 Paṇḍita	c. 1064 Paṇḍita (also called Paṇḍita)		c. 1064 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1064 Paṇḍita	c. 1064 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1064 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1064 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)	c. 1064 Paṇḍita (also Paṇḍita)
106	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa		c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1066 Paṇḍita Sakṛa
	c. 1104 Kāṇḍita	c. 1104 Kāṇḍita	c. 1104 Paṇḍita	c. 1104 Paṇḍita Sakṛa		c. 1104 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1104 Paṇḍita	c. 1104 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1104 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1104 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1104 Paṇḍita Sakṛa
114	c. 1173 Paṇḍita	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa		c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1173 Paṇḍita	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1173 Paṇḍita Sakṛa
	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa		c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1176 Paṇḍita Sakṛa
	c. 1178 Bhāṇḍita II	c. 1178 Bhāṇḍita II	c. 1178 Paṇḍita	c. 1178 Paṇḍita Sakṛa		c. 1178 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1178 Paṇḍita	c. 1178 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1178 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1178 Paṇḍita Sakṛa	c. 1178 Paṇḍita Sakṛa

just and vigorous rule⁷⁴ the empire of Pāṭaṇa remained intact from Gwalior to the Narmadā. Malwa also continued to remain a province of the empire.

Merutuṅga being an enemy propagandist says that “Ajayapāla, who had sinned against shrines, was stabbed to death by a Pratihāra named Vaijjaladeva; and being devoured by worms and suffering the tortures of hell, left the world.”⁷⁵

It is doubtful whether the legend about Ajayapāla's death is based on fact. Even if it is a fact, the name Vaijjaladeva is intriguing. Vaijjaladeva was the most powerful military leader since the latter part of Kumārapāla's reign. From 1156-1160 A.C. he was the military governor of Marwar. Evidently he aided Ajayapāla when he came to the throne, and in 1175 A.C. was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara governing the province which bordered on the Narmadā, Narmadātaṭa maṇḍala. How he came to kill his master is a mystery, if his was the hand that killed Ajayapāla.

VIII

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his minor son Mūlarāja II or Bāla Mūlarāja, who ruled for about two years.

Since 1030 A.C. when Maḥmūd of Ghazna died, the possessions of the kings of Ghazna were shrinking from decade to decade. The power which Vighraharāja, the Cāhamāna of Ajmere, had built up in the north also held the foreigners at bay. In 1173 A.C. when Kumārapāla lay dying or was dead, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, afterwards known as Sultān Mui'zzud-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghūrī was appointed the governor of Ghazna by his elder brother Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Muḥammad. In 1175 A.C. Shihāb-ud-Dīn led his first expedition into India and captured Multan and Uch. Between 1176 and 1178 A.C., he sent out an expedition against Gujarat. According to the *Prabandhas* Ajayapāla's queen Nāikdevī, the daughter of the king Parmardī of Goa, with her infant son in her arms marched at the head of the army and defeated the forces of Islam securing for her son the title of the “vanquisher of the king of Ghazna.”⁷⁶ Looking to the references, it is likely that he was not quite a child. The military strength of Gujarat had remained intact. Bāla Mūlarāja, however, died in 1178 A.C. and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīmadeva II.

⁷⁴ IA, XI, 11 : श्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरप्रबलबाहु-
दण्डदर्परूपकंदर्पकलिकालनिष्कलकावतारितरामराज्यकरदीकृतसपादलक्षस्मापालश्रीअजयपालदेव.....।

⁷⁵ PC, 97 : इति पुराणोक्तप्रामाण्यात्स कुनृपतिवैयजलदेवनामा प्रतिहारेण धुरिक्रिया हतो धर्मस्थान-
पातनपातकी कुमिभिर्भक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्यक्षं नरकमनुभूय परोक्षतां प्रपेदे ।

⁷⁶ KK, II, 56-57.

CHAPTER X

THE FALL OF THE THIRD EMPIRE

BHĪMADEVA II reigned from 1178-1241 A.C. for sixty-three years. He was a boy when he came to the throne, and in the early years of his reign followed the traditions of his father Ajayapāla. The *Prabandhas*, therefore, naturally pass over his reign and achievements in silence, and when the Jains came into power after 1220 A.C. they give such a one-sided picture that truth becomes difficult to sift. But there is little doubt that in the first twenty-five years of his reign Bhīma II revived the imperial power of Pāṭaṇa, though his task was rendered immensely difficult by having to face Ghūrī in the north and the resurgence of the Paramāras in Malwa.

I

The events and records of Bhīma II's reign may now be summarised :

- Stone inscription at Veraval describing the act of Bhīma II in building a temple of Meghanāda at Somanātha by Bhāva Brhaspati, the guru of Yaśovarmā, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. He must have been of a very old age to be alive in 1178 A.C.¹
- 1178 A.C. (v.s. 1234) Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Ghūrī's invasion of Gujarat. He was defeated by the army of Gujarat, Bhīma II being still a boy.
Inscription at Kiradu by the feudatory Madanabrahmadeva repairing a temple broken by the Turuṣkas.
- 1179 A.C. (v.s. 1235) Stone inscription at Kiradu recording the replacement of the image of Somanātha destroyed by Turuṣkas. This corroborates the raid of the Turks in 1178 A.C.²
- 1178-79 A.C. Haricandra, the successor of Jayavarmā, the Paramāra, acquired independent sovereignty in parts of Malwa including the Bhopal region.³ Jayavarmā's son, Vindhya-
varmā, also ruled over a principality in Malwa.
- c. 1180 A.C. Birth of Vīradhavaḷa, the Vāghelā.
- 1180 A.C. The Pāṭaṇa inscription referring to Bāla Bhīma.⁴
- c. 1189 A.C. Bhīllama, the Yādava king of Dewagiri, is recorded to have invaded Gujarat and Malwa and subdued their kings.⁵ His progress in the north was stopped by Kel-
haṇa, the ruler of Naddūla (1163-1192 A.C.).⁶

¹ BPSI, 208.

² EI., XI, 72 ; *Poona Orientalist*, I, No. 4, 41.

³ JASB, VII, 737-39.

⁴ EI, XX, Appendix, 57, No. 386.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 34-35, vs. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 77 : श्रीमांस्तस्याज्ञ इह नृपः केल्लणो दक्षिणाशधीशच्छिद् मिलिमनृपतेर्मानहन्

सैन्यसिधुः । निर्भिद्योच्चैः प्रबलकलितं यस्तुरुष्कं व्यधत्त श्रीसोमेशास्पदमुकुटवत्तोरणं काञ्चनस्य ॥

- 1192 A.C. Prthvirāja Cāhamāna of Ajmere falls fighting against Mu'izz-ud-Dīn on the battle-field of Tarāori.⁷
- c. 1192 A.C. Vindhyaavarmā, the Paramāra of Malwa, captures Dhārā.⁸
- 1195 A.C. Inscription on an image at Diwra in Dungarpur State.⁹
- 1195 A.C. Bhīma II defeats Quṭb-ud-Dīn.¹⁰
- 1197 A.C. Quṭb-ud-Dīn occupies Pāṭana.¹¹
- 1199 A.C. Pāṭana grant of Bhīma II, wherein after describing the genealogy of the king he is referred to as Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Abhinava Siddharāja.¹²
- c. 1200 A.C. Subhaṭavarmā or Sohaḍa¹³ comes to the throne of Dhārā.
- 1200-1209 A.C. Lāṭa is annexed to Malwa; Simha, the feudatory chief, transfers his allegiance to Subhaṭavarmā.¹⁴
- 1206 A.C. The Kadi grant No. 1, in which Bhīma's queen is referred to as Rājñī Līlādevī.¹⁵
- 1205-1206 A.C. The inscription of Sahasacāṇā in Kaccha.¹⁶
- 1206 A.C. The Timana grant (near Bhavnagar). The Mahāmātya was Cācigadeva.¹⁷
- 1208 A.C. Stone inscription at Abu. Māṇḍalika Dhārāvārṣa governed the Candrāvati region. His son Prahlādanadeva was the Yuvarāja. Mahāmātya was Tihābū. It records the paving of the Kanakhala Tīrtha at Abu.¹⁸
- Gujarat devastated by Subhaṭavarmā.
- 1209 A.C. Ghaṇṭelānā grant in Saurāṣṭra. In addition to the usual titles Bhīma II is described as Nava Siddharāja.

⁷ CHI, III, 40.

⁸ EI, IX, 108, vss. 12-13; JASB, IX, 378; J. IOS, VII, 26, vss. 12-13.

⁹ RMR, (1915), 2. ¹⁰ Elliot, II, 226. ¹¹ Ibid.

¹² IA, XI, 71: ...परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वराभिनवमिहाराज-श्रीमङ्गलमंदवः... ।

¹³ PC, 97.

¹⁴ HMM, 17: अस्मिन् राजनि राज्यं कुर्वाणं श्रीलोहडनामा मालवभूपतिः गूर्जरदेशाविश्वं सनाय

सीमान्तमागतः...

¹⁵ EI, IX, 121: तस्यामुच्यायणः पुत्रः सुत्रामश्रीरथाशिषत् । भूपः सुमटवर्मेति धर्मे तिष्ठन्मही-
तलम् ॥ यस्य ज्वलति दिग्जेतुः प्रतापस्तपनयुतः । दावाभिच्छयनाद्यापि गर्जद्गूर्जरपत्तने ॥

¹⁶ IA, VI, 195: समरसिंहपुता राज्ञीश्रीलीलदेव्या...

¹⁷ Ibid., XVIII, 108.

¹⁸ Ibid., XI, 337-38: तत्पादपद्मोपजाविनि महामात्यराणकश्रीचाचिगदेवे...

¹⁹ EI, XX, Appendix, 65, No. 454; IA, XI, 221-22: चंद्रावतीनाथमांडलिकासुरशंभुः

श्रीधारावर्धदेवे एकातपत्रवाहकत्वेन भुवं पालयति षड्दर्शनअवलम्बनस्त्वंभसकलकलाकोविदकुमारगुह्यश्रुत्वादनदेवे
यौवराज्ये सति..... ।

- Vola (Bāla ?) Nārāyaṇāvatāra. Mahāmātya was Ratnapāla.²⁰
- 1209 A.C. Subhaṭvarmā's invasion of Saurāṣṭra, repulsed at Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa.²¹
- 1209 A.C. Arjunavarmā puts to flight Jayasimha, the king of Gujarat.²²
- 1210 A.C. November, Quṭb-ud-Dīn's death, Iltutmish becoming the Sultān of Delhi.²³
- 1210 A.C. February, Arjunavarmā succeeds Subhaṭvarmā.²⁴
- c. 1213 A.C. Arjunavarmā in Broach, with the title of Trividha Vīra. He has put to flight Jayasimha, the lord of Gujarat, at the foot of the Parva Parvata.²⁵
- c. 1213 A.C. Jayasimha's daughter Vijayaśrī married to Arjunavarmā.²⁶
- 1216 A.C. Śrīdhara praśasti at Veraval. Śrīdhara's feat in rendering the earth, which was shaken by the elephants of of Malwa, stable, and in protecting Devapattana, is recorded. Bhīma is referred to as the ruling king.²⁷
- 217 A.C. Cāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa, who was a feudatory of Arjunavarmā, lost his life in an encounter against the Yādava Siṅghaṇa. The fact is recorded in 1222 A.C. He was succeeded by his son Saṅgrāmasimha or Saṅkha.²⁸
- 1218 A.C. Devapāla succeeded Arjunavarmā of Malwa.²⁹
- 1219 A.C. Stone inscription of Bhīma II at Bharana on the gulf of Cutch.³⁰
- 1220 A.C. Viradhavala appointed Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla his principal ministers.³¹
- c. 1220 A.C. Viradhavala seizes Cambay. Vastupāla is appointed to govern the new territory.³²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 113 : परमभट्टारकमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वराभिनवसिद्धराजदेवबालनारायणावतार-श्रीभीमदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये । तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामात्य श्रीरतनपाले...।

²¹ *EI*, II, 437.

²² *JASB*, V, 377-82 ; *JAOS*, VII, 26 ; *EI*, VIII, 98, 101.

²³ *CHI*, III, 50-51.

²⁴ n. 22.

²⁵ *JAOS*, VII, 32 ; *EI*, VIII, 102.

²⁶ *EI*, VIII, 100-01.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 439, 444.

²⁸ *HMM*, 17 : सिन्धुराजतनुजन्मनो लाटदेशाधिपसिंहभ्रातृव्य...। ; *EI*, III, 113.

²⁹ *IA*, XX, 310-11.

³⁰ *BPSI*, 204, 205.

³¹ *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, 331, vss. 4-6 : तत्केन प्रतिमं ब्रवीमि सचिवं वस्तुपालमिधम् ॥ दग्धेऽस्य वीरधवलक्षितिपस्य राज्यभारे धुरंधरधुरं । श्रीतेजपालसचिवे दधति स्वबंधुभारोद्धतावधुरैकधुरीणभावम् ॥

³² *Ibid.* : इतश्च लाटभूपालमुक्तौ भूमिविभूषणं । स्तम्भतीर्थमिति ह्यथातमास्तेऽतीन्द्रपुरं पुरम् ॥ एकदा वीरधवलः प्रसह्यासह्यविक्रमः । तद्विगृह्य समादत्त लंकामिव रघूद्भवः ॥

- 1220 A.C. Viradhavala's expedition against Saurāṣṭra.³³
- 1221 A.C. Vastupāla mahāmātya of Viradhavala at Dholka.³⁴ His pilgrimage to Girnar.
- 1223 A.C. Vastupāla's son Jayasimha transacting the business of the seal at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay).³⁵
- 1223 A.C. The Kadi grant of Jayasimha Cālukya. He was on the throne of Pāṭaṇa.³⁶
- 1226 A.C. Kadi grant No. 2³⁷ of Bhīma. Iltutmish captures Ranthambhor and Mandāwar.³⁸
- 1226 A.C. Stone inscription of Nāna in the Bali district of Godwara.³⁹
- 1230 A.C. The Kadi grant No. 3. It records a royal grant from Aṇahilavāḍa to a temple built by Luṇāpasāka, who was governor of Malwa in 1173 A.C.⁴⁰
- 1230 A.C. The Abu stone inscription at Abu No. 2. The Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara was Somasimha of the family of Dhūma-rāja, the Paramāra. It records the erection of a temple at Delvad by Tejaḥpāla, who was conducting the whole business of the Seal of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka. Viradhavala, the son of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Lavaṇaprasāda, born in the Cālukya-kula in the (Gūrja) rātrā maṇḍala, obtained by the favour of Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadeva.⁴¹
- 1231-41 A.C. Thirty-two inscriptions in the Neminātha temple at Abu by Tejaḥpāla.⁴²

Stone inscription at Abu No. 3. Bhīmadeva is only indirectly referred as the Cālukya king. It gives the family tree of Tejaḥpāla himself, his wife Anūpamādevī, his master Viradhavala, and of Paramāra Somasimha of Candrāvati. Vastupāla is referred to as the saciva of the Cālukyas. The brothers are described as the ministers of Viradhavala. He and Lavaṇaprasāda are described as mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras.⁴³

³³ *EI*, I, 26 ; *GMRI*, II, 367-68. ³⁴ n. 31.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ³⁶ *IA*, VI, 196-98.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 199-200.

³⁸ *CHI*, III, 53. ³⁹ *ASI*, W.C., (1908), 48-49.

⁴⁰ *IA*, VI, 201-3.

⁴¹ *EI*, VIII, 219, Lines 2-3 : कुडयजनानलोद्धूतश्रीमद्रामराजदेवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराज

कुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्यैव महाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसाद.....रात्रामंडले श्रीचौलुक्य-
कुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजश्रीवीरधवलदेवसप्तसप्तमुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्रीप्राग्वाट.....। ;
Ibid., Lines 5-6 : श्रीतेजपालेन.....श्रीमद्वर्धुदाचलोपरि देउलवाडाप्राप्ते समस्तदेवकुलि-

कालंकृतं विशालहस्तिशालोपशोभितं, श्रील्लणसिंहवसहिकाभिधानश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिदं कारितम् ॥

⁴² *Ibid.*, 200-229.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 200-204, 208-213.

- 1232 A.C. Kadi grant No. 4. It contains the same introductory recital as Kadi grant No. 3.⁴⁴
- 1232 A.C. Girnar inscription in which Lavaṇaprasāda is described as Mahārājādhirāja.⁴⁵
- 1232 A.C. Lavaṇaprasāda makes a treaty with the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa.⁴⁶
- 1233 A.C. Iltutmish captures Gwalior and invades Malwa.⁴⁷
- 1236 A.C. Lāṭa conquered by Vīradhavaḷa.⁴⁸
- 1238 A.C. Kadi grant No. 5 of Bhīma II.⁴⁹
- 1238 A.C. Kadi grant No. 6 of Bhīma II.⁵⁰
- 1238 A.C. Vīradhavaḷa's death.⁵¹
- 1239 A.C. Succeeded by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Viśaladeva.
- 1240 A.C. Death of Vastupāla. Tejaḥpāla Mahāmātya.⁵²
- 1241-42 A.C. Death of Bhīma II. Succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla.⁵³
- 1244 A.C. Viśaladeva assumes sovereignty.⁵⁴
- 1248 A.C. Tejaḥpāla's death.⁵⁵

II

The history of the times of this important ruler has to be reconstructed within the framework of the facts which have been set out above.

When Bhīma II came to the throne, the country was on the verge of a cataclysmic period. Maḥmūd of Ghazna had destroyed the Brāhmaṇa Śāhis of Kabul as a reigning power, driving them to seek an asylum in Kashmir after Bhīmapāla was killed in 1026 A.C. Kashmir, under the kings of the Lohara dynasty, was enjoying peace when in c. 1149 A.C. Kalhaṇa finished his classical work *Rājatarangīnī*. With Vantideva, however, the Lohara dynasty came to an end in 1175 A.C. and Vuppadeva was elected by the citizens for want of a worthy successor to rule in Kashmir. He is, perhaps, the only king who has the unique distinction in history of feeding stones on milk to make them grow bigger. The days of Kashmirian greatness had passed.

The Yamīnīs, Maḥmūd's descendants, held sway in Lahore. In Bengal the Sena dynasty had come into power. Its founder Sāmantasena (1050-1074 A.C.) was originally a Kaṇṇāṭaka Brāhmaṇa, who had settled at Rāḍha

⁴⁴ *IA*, VI, 194, 203.

⁴⁵ *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*. 328 : चौलुक्यकुलनभस्तलप्रकाशनैकमार्तड-महाराजाधिराजश्रीलवणप्रसाद

⁴⁶ *Lekha-paddhati*, (GOS, 1925), 52.

⁴⁷ *CHI*, III, 55.

⁴⁸ *HP*, 214 ff; *GMRI*, II, 373 ff.; also n. 32.

⁴⁹ *IA*, VI, 205-06.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 206-08.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁵² *VV*, XIV, 37; *PJLS*; No. 66.

⁵³ *IA*, VI, 208-10.

⁵⁴ *GMRI*, II, 391.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 399.

in Bengal. His grand-son Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A.C.) was a powerful king and was succeeded by his son Ballālasena (1159-1185 A.C.) who won for himself considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar. He was learned himself and a patron of learning. His queen Rāmadevī is described as the daughter of a Cālukya.

When Bhoja, the Paramāra, and Lakṣmī Kārṇa, the great Kalacuri king, died Candradeva (1072-1104 A.C.), the Gāhaḍavāla, captured Kanauj between 1072 and 1074 A.C. by the prowess of his arms and soon raised himself to power by waging an incessant war against the Kalacuris. After a short reign of his son Madanapāla (1104-1114 A.C.), Govindacandra (1114-1154 A.C.) came to the throne of Kānyakubja. He warred against the Pālas of Bengal; and repelled an attempt on the part of the later Yamīnīs to penetrate to Kāśī. 'Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara to protect Vārāṇasī from the wicked Turuṣka warriors, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Govindacandra.'⁵⁶ The Kalacuris of Tripurī were repeatedly vanquished by him and he had diplomatic relations with the Cōlas of the south. The eastern boundary of his kingdom was Patna, the western, touched the frontiers of the Cāhamānas' dominions between Rampur and Meerut.

Govinda's son Vijayacandra also had once 'swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the Hambīra, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.'⁵⁷ This has reference to an attempt of the last Yamīnī king Khusrau Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah (1150-1186 A.C.) to invade Madhyadeśa. In 1170 A.C. came to the throne of Kāśī—for that was the real capital of the Gāhaḍavālas,—Jayacandra (1170-1189 A.C.), who held sway from Rampur to Bengal. His one ambition in life was to destroy the growing power of the Cāhamānas of Ajmere. Jejābhukti, modern Bundelkhand, was ruled by Parmardī, the Candella ally of Jayacandra, in the latter's wars with the Cāhamānas.

We now turn to the old Gūrjaradeśa. Between 1138 and 1178 A.C., Jayavarmā, the immediate successor of Yaśovarmā, was an independent ruler of a small principality in Malwa. During the confusion which followed the death of Kumārapāla, Jayavarmā's son and successor Hariścandra had extended his principality. In 1178 A.C., he called himself Mahākumāra, while calling his father Jayavarmā Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Parameśvara.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *EI*, IX, 324, vs. 16 : वाराणसीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको दुष्टान् तुरुष्कमुभयदवितुं हरेण । उक्तो हरिस्स पुनरत्र बभूव तस्माद् गोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥

⁵⁷ *IA*, XVIII, 130-133 : अजनि विजयचंद्रो नाम तस्मात्रेन्द्रः सुरपतिरिव भूवृत्त्यक्षविच्छेददक्षः । भुवनदलनहेलाहर्षहम्बीरनारी- नयनजलदधाराधौतभूलोक्तापः ॥

⁵⁸ n. 3 : श्रीयशोवर्मदेवपादानुव्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्मदेव इत्येतस्मात् पृष्ठतमग्रभोः प्रसादाद्वाप्तनिजाधिपत्यः समस्तप्रशस्तोपेतसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दालंकारविराजमानमहाकुमार

Lāṭa was a province of Gujarat ruled by the Cāhamāna named Sirṃha, a feudatory of Bhīma II. The Paramāra of Abu, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Dhāra-varṣa (1163—c. 1219 A.C.) was equally a feudatory and continued to be loyal to Pāṭaṇa till his death.⁵⁹ Vāgaḍa, modern Dungarpur State, was captured by the Gohel prince Sāmantasirṃha (1171-79 A.C.), who had been ousted from Medapāṭa. He was also a feudatory of Pāṭaṇa⁶⁰ though he unsuccessfully tried to throw off the suzerainty of Ajayapāla. Kiradu in Jodhpur State remained part of Gŭrjaradeśa. In Jhalor ruled Kīrtipāla, the Cāhamāna. His son Samarasirṃha was the father of Bhīma II's queen Līlādevī, referred to in the Kadi grant of 1206 A.C. In Marwar Kelhaṇa, the son of Ālhaṇadeva (1163-1192 A.C.), who had been restored to the rulership of Marwar, continued to be a feudatory of Gujarat.

In 1177 A.C. Someśvara the Cāhamāna, Siddharāja's grandson, died. Pṛthvīrāja, his eldest son, was then a minor. The dying king left his kingdom under the care of his queen Karpūradevī. Karpūradevī's uncle Bhuvanaikamalla trained up Pṛthvīrāja with care.⁶¹ The weak Yamīnīs now stood between the rising power of Ghūrī and the powerful Cāhamānas of Ajmer.

Thus in the eventful year 1178 A.C. when Bhīma II, a minor, came to the throne of Pāṭaṇa, the old Gŭrjaradeśa had two independent kingdoms both ruled by minors, one the great-grandson of Siddharāja, and the other his great-grand nephew. The references to hostilities between Bhīma II and Pṛthvīrāja contained in the Jain legends have no epigraphic evidence in their support. A hundred years of friendliness subsisted between the two kingdoms. But Gŭrjaradeśa had its enemies too in the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, the Candellas of Jejābhukti, the Yādavas of Devgiri and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi

III

In 1178 A.C., Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī invaded Gujarat. He first halted at Multan and Uch, and then marched through the desert. Young Bhīma, then in his teens, opposed him at the head of the army of Gujarat which consisted of numerous forces and many elephants.⁶² Ghūrī passed through Jodhpur and occupied Naddūla. The two armies met near Abu. A fierce engagement followed. The army of Gujarat was led by loyal and seasoned hierarchs of Gŭrjaradeśa like the brave Kelhaṇa of Marwar, known to the Muslim chroniclers as Karana, Dhārāvarṣa of Abu and a minister whom *Zafer ul-Wāliḥ* mentions but without name.⁶³ In this battle the forces of Ghūrī were defeated with great slaughter. At an enormous cost, Ghūrī escaped to Ghazna.⁶⁴

श्रीहरिश्चंद्रदेवः.....इति । स्वहस्तोऽयं महाकुमारश्रीलक्ष्मीवर्मदेवसुतमहाकुमारश्रीहरिश्चंद्रदेवपरमारकुलकमल-
कमलबन्धोः ।

⁵⁹ *IA*, LVI, 50.

⁶⁰ *EI*, VIII, 202-4, 208-19.

⁶¹ *JRAS*, (1913), 278-279.

⁶² *TN*, I, 451.

⁶³ *Zafer-ul-Wāliḥ*, (Edited by Ross), II, 675.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, *TF*, II, 170 ; *TA*, 36.

As was usual with these invaders, Ghūrī sent an ambassador to Prthvirāja of Ajmere offering peace, but that heroic young man was not to be tempted. "When these fiends in the shape of men took possession of Naddūla, the warriors of Ajmere took up their bows and arrows; the emperor became angry, and resolved to lay the Ghūrī's glory in the dust".⁶⁵ In the meantime, the news of Bhīma II's victory reached Prthvirāja.

This was a unique victory for Bhīma II. The Sultān, again, as in 1024 A.C., was a great military genius. The prince was young and inexperienced, and had just come to the throne. But the empire of Gūrjaradeśa was strong and unexhausted, thanks to his predecessors. Bhīma II obtained such a victory that Ghūrī did not venture to invade India again for twenty years. India was free from troubles, though for the moment.

In spite of this great victory Bhīma II had not the genius of Jayasimha.

The discontented group which had been crushed by Ajayapāla had great wealth, considerable influence in the state and a compact community behind it; and the presence of an inexperienced young king on the throne of Pāṭāṇa favoured elaborate intrigues. But a clear appreciation of the facts connected with this period becomes difficult. The *Prabandhas* are silent as things did not favour Jainism; and when they do begin to speak, the two great Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla had come into power and every one else, for them, recedes into background.

About this time the western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi had declined in power and Bhillama I, the Yādava, had established himself at Devagiri, modern Daulatabad in the Hyderabad State, and begun a career of conquest. About 1189 A.C. he invaded Gujarat and Malwa but his progress was resisted by Kelhaṇa, the brave warrior king of Naddūla, who forced the invader back.⁶⁶

Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī had learnt a lesson. He had been badly beaten by Bhīma II and was not going to be in a hurry to invade India. In 1179 A.C., he took Peshawar from the feeble governor of the last of the Yamīnī kings Khusrau Malik. Then a terrible and, thereafter, an all too familiar event happened. Cakradeva of Jammu invited Ghūrī to help him against Khusrau; Ghūrī accepted the invitation, took Sialkot and established a base there. Ghūrī had come to acquire a kingdom, not to raid the country. In 1186 A.C. with the aid of Vijayadeva, Cakradeva's son and successor, he wiped the Yamīnīs out. The Ghūrī now faced the young Cāhamāna.

In the meantime the Gāhaḍavāla Jayacandra of Kanauj and the young and impetuous Prthvirāja of Ajmere carried on incessant hostility, oblivious of the storm that was gathering on their north-western frontier. They dreamt not of the terrible danger to their country, their faith, or their people. With their head buried in a belief of their heroic invulnerability, they looked upon Sialkot as a frontier incident.

In 1191 A.C. Ghūrī organised his forces and took the fortress of Tabara-Hind, modern Bhatinda. Pṛthvīrāja, at the head of a confederate force, fell upon him. On the field of Tarāori a severe encounter followed. The Muslims were beaten; Ghūrī, the 'Haider of his time and a second Rustom' narrowly escaped. His army broke and fled till it reached Ghazna. Pṛthvīrāja did not follow up the victory by swift action. He paused to invest Bhatinda, which fell into his hands after thirteen months.

In the next year, 1192 A.C., Ghūrī collected a large army including 1,20,000 horses and marched on Pṛthvīrāja. Neither caution nor humility were part of the young hero's make-up. It never so much as entered his head to seek aid from Bhīma II, or from Jayacandra. Proudly he asked Ghūrī 'to retire to his own country'. Ghūrī was a consummate diplomat; he sent word that he was there only at the bidding of his brother and master. If Pṛthvīrāja gave him time he would get instructions from his master and enter into a treaty. He asked for a truce, and the confiding Pṛthvīrāja gave it. Then the Hindu army fell into remissness.⁶⁷ Ghūrī took advantage of the truce and fell upon Pṛthvīrāja. The Indian army taken unawares was, in spite of heroic resistance, routed. The young Cāhamāna fled from the field, was taken prisoner and killed. Govindrai of Delhi, Pṛthvīrāja's brother, was also slain.

The domains of the proud Cāhamānas right upto Delhi fell into the hands of the foreign conqueror. Massacre, rape and plunder followed in the wake of his occupation. Temples were razed to the ground, idols were broken. People, terror-struck, migrated south for safety. Malik Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak was left by Ghūrī as governor in the fort of Guhram.

Pṛthvīrāja's bastard son became the foreigner's nominee at Ajmere. But his heroic brother, Harirāja, withdrew to Ranthambhor, which then became the citadel of unyielding resistance.⁶⁸

Within a year of the fateful battle of Tarāori, Ghūrī with lightning speed marched against Jayacandra who fell fighting on the field of Chandwar. Ghūrī proceeded with total destructiveness. Men were massacred. Towns were looted. Smiling Madhyadeśa was a charred ruin. The conquerors then proceeded to the capital of Jayacandra. India looked on terror-struck. Vārāṇasī, the intellectual and spiritual centre of India, from where for centuries had flown inspiration and knowledge, fell into the hands of the foreign invader. A thousand temples were laid low. Mosques rose in their places. Jayacandra's son Haricandra, a boy of eighteen, retired to a distant place and kept up his independence.⁶⁹

Bhīma II took up the challenge within a few months. Delhi became the centre of active national resistance. Bhīma II rushed his feudatory Jatwan, the leader of the Jats, to its aid. He recaptured the Hansi district,

⁶⁷ *TN*, I, 466.

⁶⁸ *JRAS*, (1913), 26 f. n. 16.

⁶⁹ *TN*, I, 470; *Elliot*, II, 209; *JASB*, (1911), 763-65.

driving the Turkish governor into the fort of Hansi. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak rushed to the rescue, defeated the army of Bhīma II, and established a base at Meerut. Next he turned to Delhi, captured it, and made it his headquarters in India.⁷⁰

Quṭb-ud-Dīn now was installed at Delhi, the first foreigner to found a powerful kingdom after Kaniska and Toramāṇa. Harirāja, Pṛthvirāja's brother, rallied his forces, and by 1194 A.C. he retook Ajmere.⁷¹ Ajmere soon became a rallying centre of defiance and an army headed by a Jhatrai marched to Delhi. But Aibak was too powerful for such stray efforts. Jhatrai was defeated. Ajmere was invested. Unable to resist further, the proud Cāhamāṇa preferred the funeral pyre to the favours of the Turk.⁷²

In the meantime Bhīma II had assumed the lead of national resistance, which now was being organised by Govindarāja, Pṛthvirāja's grandson, from Ranthambhor. It was now a straight fight between Bhīma II and Aibak. An immense army of Gujarat appeared on the scene. A large part of the Muslim army was destroyed, its general was wounded, and the fugitives fled to Ajmere for safety. Quṭb-ud-Dīn sent a messenger to his Sultān at Ghazna to explain the position of the army of the infidels, and to ask for orders as to the future. After the victory, Bhīma II withdrew.

By January 1197 A.C. Aibak collected a large army and was also reinforced by his master with fresh troops. He now advanced on Gujarat. At the foot of Mt. Abu, the forces of Gujarat led by the Cāhamāṇa Kelhaṇa of Naddūla and assisted by Dhārāvarṣa, the Paramāra of Abu, awaited the invader. After a battle involving frightful carnage the army of Gujarat was routed. 50,000 soldiers lay dead on the field. Kelhaṇa, the great general, withdrew. "Heaps of the slain," says the Muslim chronicler, "made the hills and the plains of one level." 20,000 men were captured alive. Elephants and arm, beyond calculation fell into the hands of the invader. Proud Pāṭaṇa, the imperial capital of Siddharāja, and Gujarat, 'the most celebrated country and full of rivers', 'a separate region of the world', lay open before the Turk.

Bhīma II withdrew to a distant place trying to rally his forces. In the meantime Aibak occupied Pāṭaṇa and plundered the wealth of Gujarat. Soon Bhīma II and his ministers and military leaders gathered a volume of resistance. Within a few months, Pāṭaṇa drove the invader out and Bhīma II in 1199 A.C. assumed the title of Abhinava Siddharāja.⁷³ Aibak did not dare to re-invade Gujarat; a tribute to the power that was Gūrjara-deśa.

It was again a great victory for Bhīma II, but it drained Gujarat of its men and resources. The flower of its youth lay dead on the fields of battle. Its life was disorganised.

⁷⁰ *CHI*, III, 41-42.

⁷¹ *RMR*, (1911-12), 2, 5; *IA*, 61-62.

⁷² *Elliot* II, 220; *CHI*, III, 43; *Hammiramahākāvya*, III, 73-82, IV, 1-19.

⁷³ n. 12.

IV

Between 1200 and 1220 A.C. there is a confusion of events and names in the records both of Gujarat and Malwa. After Hariścandra's death, possibly more than one member of the family ruled in different places in Malwa. Taking advantage of the pre-occupations of Bhīma II some of them consolidated their position. Lakṣmīvarmā, the son of Yaśovarmā, ruled south of the Vindhya. His son Udayavarmā had by c. 1164 A.C. conquered part of modern Bhopal State and Hoshangabad district.⁷⁴

Vindhyavarmā, the son of Jayavarmā, ruled over some principalities south of the Vindhya, and Kumāra, the general of Bāla Mūlarāja, who was also the family priest of the Cālukyas, had to be sent to Malwa to suppress a revolt staged by him.⁷⁵ The rebel was defeated and Malwa was brought under control. Vindhyavarmā, however, taking advantage of Bhīma II's absence in the north captured Dhārā in c. 1192 A.C. He then grew 'eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras.' "The sword of the king, skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges as it were to protect the three worlds."⁷⁶ It was after Vindhyavarmā took Dhārā that in 1192 A.C. Āśadhara, the Jain teacher, fled to Malwa with his family, as Sapādalakṣa was overrun by Shihāb-ud-dīn, the king of the Turuṣkas.⁷⁷

Ballāla II (1173-1220 A.C.), the Hoysala king of Dvārasamuḍra in modern Halebid (Mysore), was no less troublesome to Gujarat. Since 1177 A.C. he was nibbling at Gujarat and Malwa.⁷⁸ Even a confederacy headed by the Cōla Kulottuṅga II was not effective. About 1190 A.C. he vanquished the confederacy of the kings of Malwa, Lāṭa, Bhīma II and Kulottuṅga.⁷⁹ Ballāla II claimed to be a 'fever to the Cōla, Mālva and the Gūrjara'.⁸⁰

Bhillamā, the Yādava of Devgiri, was equally troublesome, though he had been once repelled by Kelhaṇa in 1179 A.C. In 1189 A.C. he is described as 'a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas' and 'a dread roar of clouds to the flocks of swans of Gūrjaras'.⁸¹ With all these difficulties in the south, it is high credit to Bhīma II, that he drove out Aibak from Pāṭṇa

⁷⁴ JAOS, VII, 35 : भूपाले भूमिपालोऽयमुदयादित्यपार्थिवः । तेनेदं निर्मितं स्थानं बहुपूर्णेऽवैः शकैः ॥

⁷⁵ Someśvara, *Surathotsava*, (*Kāvya Mālā*, No. 72), V, 36-37 : धाराधीशो विन्ध्यवर्म-
न्यबन्ध्याक्रोधात्मातेऽय्याजिमुत्सृज्य याते । गोगस्थानं पतनं तस्य भंत्वा सौधस्थाने खानितो येन कूपः ॥
गृहीतं कुप्यता कुप्यं मालवेस्वरदेशतः । दत्तं पुनर्गयाश्राद्धे येनाकुप्यमकुप्यता ॥

⁷⁶ n. 8 ; *EI*, IX, 108 : तस्मादजयवर्माभूजयश्रोविश्रुतः सुतः ॥ तत्सूनुर्वीरमूर्धन्यो
धन्योत्पत्तिरजायत । गूर्जरोच्छेदनिर्वधी विन्ध्यवर्मा महाभुजः ॥ धारयोद्धृतया सार्द्धं दधाति स्म त्रिधाराताम् ।
सांयुगीनस्य यस्यासिन्नातुं लोकत्रयीमिव ॥

⁷⁷ *Dharmāmṛta Grantha-praśasti*, vss. 5 ff ; commentary. ⁷⁸ *EC*, V, AK. No. 62.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, VI, K, No. 156.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, V, AK, No. 40.

⁸¹ n. 5 ; *EI*, XV, 34-35, vs. 9 :

मालवमस्तकप्रबलशक्तनुदग्रवराळशैलदम्भोलि कळिङ्गनुङ्गगज-
केसरी गूर्जरचोळगौळमराळजाळजळदोप्रवं स्फुरवङ्गनेपाळनृपाळकाळनेनिप विभुभिन्नमदेवभुभुजं ॥

and restored the independence of Gujarat. Between 1178 and 1209 A.C. Gujarat under Bhīma II had not lost its power or strength completely.

During the period from 1192-1199 A.C. Bhīmadeva's ministers were Ṭhakkura Bhīmaka and Ṭhakkura Sūdha in 1196 A.C. In 1206 A.C. when he is styled Lañkeśvara Nārāyaṇāvatāra, his prime-minister in charge of the seal was Cācigadeva. In 1208 A.C. he is styled 'the saviour of the Cālukyas' and his prime-minister and the keeper of the seal was Mahāmātya Ṭhābū. In 1209 A.C. he is styled Abhinava Siddharāja Vola(?), Nārāyaṇāvatāra Bhīmadeva and the Mahāmātya was Ratana-pāla and the governor of Saurāṣṭra, one Somarājadeva. The word 'Vola' in this inscription can only be Bāla; his own Dūtaka would not describe him as Bholā or a simpleton. The epithet Bholā, applied to Bhīma II later, is perhaps a subsequent pun to indicate his later incompetence.

In about 1200 A.C. Vindhyaarmā was succeeded on the throne of Malwa, by his son Subhāṭavarmā who was also styled Subhāṭa and Sohaḍa.⁸² Immediately on coming to the throne he invaded south Gujarat. Records, at this stage, become confused and are worse confounded by the authors who a few decades after wrote under the inspiration of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the Jain ministers, who were then the virtual dictators of Gujarat. They attribute every heroic deed to these ministers or to their masters, the Vāghelās, who held Gujarat in fee. But upto 1209 A.C. the epigraphic evidence shows a continuity of authority in Bhīma II. The administration was being conducted by ministers from Pāṭaṇa.

Kumārāpāla's mother's sister was married to a Cālukya. Their son Ānāka or Arṇorāja held the estate of a village named Vyāghrapallī about 10 miles from Aṇahilavāḍa, whence his descendants received the epithet of the Vāghelās. Ānāka was a petty chief in the times of Kumārāpāla, when Lavaṇaprasāda was born to him. Lavaṇaprasāda held sway as 'Sarveśvara' till after 1232 A.C.; his birth, therefore, can be placed between 1150 A.C. and 1160 A.C. His son Viradhavala died in 1230 A.C. at a mature age and his birth, therefore, can be placed between 1170 and 1180 A.C.

Soma, the grandfather of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, served under Siddharāja. When they were called to help in the administration of the country by Lavaṇaprasāda in c. 1220 A.C., Vastupāla was already a man with a position and large wealth. He died in 1240 A.C. Upto 1209 A.C. the period under consideration, therefore, neither Lavaṇaprasāda nor Vastupāla had anything to do with the active administration of Gujarat.

Before 1209 A.C. Subhāṭavarmā spread fire and sword throughout Gujarat.

Simha, the Cāhamāna of Broach, the feudatory of the Cālukyas, transferred his allegiance to Subhāṭavarmā. The king of Malwa marched to Pāṭaṇa and sacked it. "A fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters

⁸² n. 13.

(Subhaṭavarmā) whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire, even today blazes in the Pāṭaṇa of the blustering Gūrjara."⁸³ Merutuṅga also supports this by stating that the Mālava king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarat with the intention of devastating the country. Bhīmadeva fled either to Saurāṣṭra or Kaccha. From Pāṭaṇa, Subhaṭavarmā marched into Saurāṣṭra possibly in pursuit of Bhīmadeva. Śrīdhara, the Nāgara general, was in charge of the province. An able military leader, he had already taken part in the war against the Turks. Now 'by the power of his wisdom he quickly made stable again the country that had been shaken by the multitude of war elephants of Mālava resembling a forest of dark tamāla trees and protected Devapattana by his own power.'⁸⁴ The emphasis on wisdom indicates that his was not a pure military victory.

V

When Subhaṭavarmā withdrew, Gujarat was without a central authority, overrun by enemies, drained of resources and thoroughly disorganised. In this calamity in c. 1209 A.C. a brave warrior of the Cālukya family Jayasimha or Jayantasimha by name assumed control of the country. Arjunavarmā, the son of Subhaṭavarmā, came to the throne in February 1210 A.C.⁸⁵ Soon after he defeated this Jayasimha, the new king of Gujarat,⁸⁶ in a battle, which took place near Parva Pārvata, possibly Pavagadh. From his inscription of 1223 A.C. it is clear that Jayasimha was on the throne of Pāṭaṇa and described himself as having saved Gujarat from a mighty catastrophe.⁸⁷ The grant of Arjunavarmā, the successor of Subhaṭavarma states: "Jaitrasimha having fled in an encounter with him (the encounter being a child's play for him), his fame spread in all the directions like the laughter of the guardians of the quarters."⁸⁸ By 1226 A.C. Bhīma II was again on the throne and Jayasimha had disappeared.⁸⁹

The Kadi grant of Jayasimha of 1223 A.C. referred to above shows that

⁸³ ns. 13, 14, 15 : *EI*. IX, 121 : यस्य ज्वलति दिग्जेतुः प्रतापस्तपनद्युतेः । दावाभिच्छन्ननाथापि गर्जद्गूर्जरपत्तने ॥

⁸⁴ n. 27 : *EI*. II, 439 : ... मालवतमालवनायमानसेनागजप्रकरभंगुरितां भुवं यः । भूयः स्थिरं सपदि मंत्रबलेन कृत्वा श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मशक्त्या ॥

⁸⁵ n. 24.

⁸⁶ n. 25.

⁸⁷ n. 36 : *I.A.*, VI, 197 : दुःसमयजलधिजलमग्नमेदिनीमंडलोद्धरणमहावराहदुर्दैवदावानलनिर्दग्धगूर्जर धराबीजप्ररोहैकपज्जन्य एकांगवीरेत्यादिसमस्तविहदावलीसमुपेतः श्रीमदणहिलपुरराजधान्यधिष्ठित अभिनवसिद्ध राजश्रीमज्जयन्तसिंहदेवो..... ।

⁸⁸ *EI*. IX, 108-109 : देवभूयं गते तस्मिन्तद्वनोऽर्जुनभूपतिः । दोष्णा धत्तेऽधुना धात्रीवल्यं वल्यं यथा ॥ बाललीलाहवे यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते..... ॥ *Ibid.*, IX, 121, vs. 17 : ॥ बाललोलाहवे यस्य जैत्रसिंहे पलायिते । दिक्पालाहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥

⁸⁹ n. 37.

he was a great warrior and a Cālukya. He had saved Gujarat from a great calamity. He had not succeeded Bhīma II in the regular course but in some extraordinary manner ; 'tat paścāt' not 'tat pādānudhyāta.' Jayasimha, the Cālukya, therefore, rescued Gujarat from the invasion of Subhataṭavarmā as Arjunavarmā never forced his way into Gujarat ; nor was Gujarat 'drowned' in calamity immediately after 1220 A.C.

These events are corroborated by *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, a drama by Madana, the royal preceptor of Arjunavarmā, which has survived in fragments inscribed on a stone in the Bhojaśālā at Dhārā.⁹⁰ It was staged for the first time in the temple of Sarasvatī at Dhārā at the spring festival when Arjunavarmā himself ruled over Malwa.

The drama contains contemporary history.⁹¹ Arjunavarmā is the hero ; Sarvakalā, the daughter of the king of Kuntala, i.e. of the Hoysala Vira Ballāla II (1172-1219 A.C.), is his queen. *Pārijāta-mañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* is the daughter of the king Jayasimha, the king of Gujarat, 'Cālukya-mahimahendra.'

Arjunavarmā defeats Jayasimha, the king of Gujarat, who flees from battle which takes place near Parva Parvata. The conqueror, when mounted on an elephant, finds *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, the blossoms of the heavenly *Pārijāta* tree, falling on him. When he touches the blossoms, they turn into a beautiful maiden, who is *Vijayaśrī*, the daughter of Jayasimha. Guided by a divine voice he takes her to Dhārā and places her under the care of his gardener Kusumākara, who keeps her in an emerald pavilion on a hill.

Sarvakalā, the queen of Arjunavarmā, comes to perform the 'Madhu' ceremony in a garden on the hill, when the king enters dressed in the robes of spring and accompanied by the jester. *Vijayaśrī* and the gardener's wife, *Vasantalilā*, also witness the ceremony from behind a tree. While doing so *Vasantalilā* moves aside a branch of the tree ; *Vijayaśrī*'s face is reflected on the ear-ring of the queen, and the king sees the reflection. The sudden change in the king's expression arouses the jealousy of the queen and on coming to know of the cause of this change she leaves the garden in anger. The king then endeavours to placate the queen and succeeds in doing so only when he promises to forsake the company of *Vijayaśrī*.

⁹⁰ n. 26.

⁹¹ *EI*, VIII, 102 : त्रिविधवीरचूडामणेः सार्वभौमश्रीभोजदेवान्वयमूर्द्धन्यस्य राज्ञः श्रीमर्जुनदेवस्य गूर्जरपतिना जयसिंहेन सह पर्वपर्वतोपत्यकापरिसरेषु हिरण्यकशिपुकदनकुपितवैकुण्ठकण्ठीरवकण्ठनादवकित दिग्वाणेन्द्रमुक्कविश्वम्भरा निपतनोद्वेलसप्तार्णवलहरीसंफेदतुल्यतुमुलकोलाहलः कलहो बभूव ॥ ; *Ibid.*, 103 : मनोज्ञां निर्विशत्रेतां कल्याणीं विजयश्रियम् । सदृशो भोजदेवेन धाराधिप भविष्यति ॥ या चौलुक्यमहीमहेन्द्र-दुहिता देवी जयश्रीः स्वयं भगे मृत्युमवाय बाष्पसलिलैरतःपुरस्थोर्मिलैः । वसुः शोक्तमालवालविपिनं चक्रे नदीमातृकं सेयं स्वर्द्धमंजरीकिसलये संक्रम्य जाताङ्गना ॥.....प्रतिबले पलायमाने जयसिधुरस्कंधाधिरूढस्य.....। कुन्तलेन्द्रसुता सेयं राज्ञः सर्वकलाप्रिया... ॥

Vijayaśrī is broken-hearted. She threatens to commit suicide, and finally departs followed by the gardener's wife Vasantalilā.

The fragment ends here, but the end of the drama, written in such an orthodox style, can only end in the king's marriage with Vijayaśrī. This would show that before 1210 A.C. Jayasimha was properly installed as the king of Gujarat.

There is another indication found from the Kadi grants⁹² which point to the same fact. Mūlarāja, the founder of the Cālukya family, had founded the temple of Mūlasthānadeva or Muleśvara at Maṇḍali in Vṛddhi-pathaka or modern Vadhiar. This was the family shrine of the royal Cālukyas and was in charge of one Vedagarbharāśi, a Pāsupatācārya, in the time of Bhīma II. Luṇāpasāka, who was the governor of Malwa in the time of Ajayapāla and a cadet of the Cālukya family, built two temples of Śiva, one, named after his father, Ānaleśvara and the other, after his mother, Salakhaṇeśvara. These two temples were also in charge of Vedagarbharāśi. In 1223 A.C. Jayasimha or Jayantasimha gave a grant of a village to these two temples. In 1226 A.C. Bhīmadeva, then reinstated on the throne of Pāṭaṇa, granted a village to Vedagarbharāśi. In 1232 A.C. Bhīmadeva granted another village to the same Ācārya for the benefit of the Ānaleśvara and the Salakhaṇeśvara temples. In 1238 A.C., Bhīmadeva again made another grant in favour of the same Vedagarbharāśi, who was in charge of two temples built by Rāṇā Vīrama, the son of Cālukya Rāṇa Luṇāpasāka. In 1238 A.C. also, Bhīma gave a similar grant to the same grantee for the same temples. In 1261 A.C. the grandson of Luṇāpasāka gave a grant to the head of the monastery, who is mentioned as Viśvāmitra, evidently a successor of Vedagarbharāśi.

These grants throw light on the position of Jayasimha. The head of the Pāsupata maṭha at Muleśvara was the family Pāsupatācārya of the royal Cālukyas; even the word Rājakula is applied to his name. Luṇāpasāka, the governor of Malwa in Ajayapāla's time, was a near relative of the king. Jayasimha was possibly a member of that branch; and in 1223 A.C. he was properly installed king, acknowledged by the preceptor of the family. Between 1209 and 1223 A.C., therefore, Jayasimha or Jayantasimha, a Cālukya, was on the throne of Pāṭaṇa, not by succession but by having assumed control of the country to save it from disaster.

What happened to Bhīma II in these years: Was he a minor? Or was he an imbecile? Where was he during this interval?

In 1178 A.C. when Bhīma comes to the throne he is a child. In 1199 A.C., therefore, when he assumes the title of Abhinava Siddharāja, he cannot be less than about twenty-five years of age, may be more. The grants of 1206 A.C. indicate that both Saurāṣṭra and north Gujarat were ruled by Bhīma from Pāṭaṇa. In 1209 A.C. Saurāṣṭra acknowledges his suzerainty;

⁹² ns, 16, 36, 37, 40, 44, 49, 50, 121.

in Śrīdhara's praśasti of 1216 A.C. Śrīdhara is stated to be a friend of Bhīmadeva ; but there is no reference to his ruling at Pāṭaṇa. In the Bharana inscription of 1219 A.C., which is a village in the Jamnagar State in Kathiawar, Bhīmadeva is mentioned as residing in Pāṭaṇa. Between 1200-1209 A.C. Bhīma was therefore not a minor. Between 1209 and 1226 A.C., there is no evidence that he was ruling at Pāṭaṇa except the out of the way Bharana inscription of 1219 A.C.

Jayasimha, in his drama *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, narrates a story, which in spite of its biased rendering of events throws some light on this question. According to the play, Bhīmasimha was the śimantamaṇi of Saurāṣṭra ;⁹³ Viradhavala, the Vāghelā, was ruling at Dhavalakapurī, modern Dholka in the Ahmedabad District. The Turuṣkas, at the time, invaded Gujarat by way of Marwar. Dhārāvaṛṣa, the Paramāra of Abu, Bhīmasimha of Saurāṣṭra and Somasimha, identified with Dhārāvaṛṣa's son, who was the ruler in c. 1230-36 A.C.,⁹⁴ joined Viradhavala against the mlecchas. The Bhīmasimha of this narrative can be identified with Bhīma II, the Cālukya,⁹⁵ who may, therefore, be assumed to be residing in Saurāṣṭra during the period of his eclipse. That perhaps would explain why the grant of 1219 A.C. recites that Bhīma was still the king of Pāṭaṇa.

Between 1209 and 1223 A.C. Gujarat was in a sad plight. Arjunavarmā had vanquished Jayasimha, the king of Gujarat. Simha, the feudatory of Lāṭa, had transferred his allegiance to Arjunavarmā. There was no central authority in Pāṭaṇa. The war against Aibak and Subhaṭavarmā had impoverished the country. It may, therefore, be assumed that some time in 1210 A.C. Jayasimha made peace with Arjunavarmā, marched to Pāṭaṇa wherefrom Bhīma II had fled to Saurāṣṭra, and began to consolidate Gujarat.

VI

Arjunavarmā, however, was getting powerful ; in 1213 A.C. he issued a grant from Broach, the capital of Lāṭa.⁹⁶ He was also a great patron of learning and his claim to be another Bhoja is correct in two respects. He was fond of learning and he reduced Gujarat to vassalage. The frontiers of the kingdom, ruled by Arjunavarmā and his son Devapāla, were bounded in the east by Udaipur and the Saugor district, in the south by the Hoshangabad and Nimar districts, in the west by Lāṭa. In the north it was pushed upto the Jhalawar State. Dungarpur had been lost to the Guhilots. When Bhīma II was fighting the foreigner, Arjunavarmā was helping the enemy by weakening his neighbour.

After the break-up of the empire of old Gūrjaradeśa, two ambitious men tried to carve out an empire, Sīyaka, the Paramāra, and Mūlaraja, the

⁹³ HMM, 11 : सङ्ग्रामभासुरः सुराष्ट्रीमन्तमणिः श्रीभीमसिंहः.... ।

⁹⁴ EI, VIII, 205 ; ASI. (W.C.), (1917), 69.

⁹⁵ DHNI, II, 1022.

⁹⁶ n. 25.

Cālukya. From 940 to 1240 A.C. the descendants of these two tried to obtain the mastery over the other. Fortune fluctuated from time to time. Then Siddharāja destroyed Malwa ; Subhaṭavarmā took his revenge by destroying Gujarat. But now there was a third party for whose benefit the mutual destruction was proceeding apace.

The history of Gŭrjaradeśa now sinks into a tale of petty wars and mean intrigues. In 1209 A.C. the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, the grandson of Bhillama (1209-1241 A.C.), came to the throne of Devagiri. An ambitious man, he overthrew the Hoysala king, Vira Ballāla III, subdued the king of Āndhra and the Śilāhara Bhoja of Kolhapur.⁹⁷ He marched north ; defeated Arjunavarmā, and Sindhurāja, who fell fighting.⁹⁸ It was a war of destruction and not of conquest.

In 1218 A.C. Devapāla, who was ruling some parts of Khandesh as the successor of his father Hariścandra, succeeded Arjunavarmā. Saṅgrāma-siṃha known as Śaṅkha, the son of Sindhurāja, became the ruler of Lāṭa. Śaṅkha, who was a powerful military leader, pursued the policy of friendship with the Malwa king Devapāla and fought Pāṭaṇa in the north and Devgiri in the south.

In about 1218 A.C. Siṅghaṇa, the Yādava king of Devgiri, invaded Lāṭa and reached the northern banks of the Narmadā but Śaṅkha drove him back with the timely assistance of Devapāla, the king of Malwa. In c. 1219 A.C. the Yādava king again invaded Lāṭa. The brave Śaṅkha was taken prisoner and taken to Devgiri. But he acquired influence over the Yādava king ; a treaty was signed between the two and Devapāla ; and Śaṅkha was restored to his kingdom. It was during the temporary eclipse of Śaṅkha that Viradhavala, the Gujarat feudatory of Dholka, captured Cambay and installed Vastupāla as its governor.⁹⁹

At this stage it becomes necessary to go back to Viradhavala's father Lavaṇaprasāda. Jayasimha, a Cālukya, no doubt ruled at Pāṭaṇa doing his best to keep Gujarat together. Lavaṇaprasāda, who between 1209 and 1220 A.C. had acquired the principality of Dholaka as one of the feudatories was also unhappy at the disruption of Gujarat. His adviser Someśvara, the family priest of the Cālukyas, gives the reason for Lavaṇaprasāda taking the lead.

To Lavaṇaprasāda, the royalty of Gujarat appears in a dream and says : "The ruler of Gujarat is a child (more appropriately feeble) and cannot overcome the enemy forces. Ministers and feudatories alike want me, their master's consort, their slave. I find none to save me. I am hit by rebels from within and foes from without." Speaking of Pāṭaṇa, she tells him : "Here darkness was unknown, for, the scions of the line of Mūlarāja spread their light all round. But, now, a light was not to be found even at night. The city once resounded with drums at night, now, only

the howl of jackals is heard. Then, the lake bloomed with the lotus faces of young damsels, now it helplessly sheds teardrops as the wind blows over it."¹⁰⁰

All the contemporary Gujarati authors are silent over the achievements of Jayasimha, for they disliked his usurping Bhīma's authority. Someśvara, loyal to his master, only distantly refers to him. This loyal Brāhmaṇa bestirred himself to save the country and the royal line of the Cālukyas. He turned to the wise and elderly Lavaṇaprasāda. The Vāghelā was then past middle age. He was a cultured and religious-minded man¹⁰¹, and steadfast in his loyalty to the royal house. Bhīma was somewhere in Saurāṣṭra, a king of Gujarat only in name.

Since the death of Kumārapāla the Jain community had faded into political obscurity, but it was powerful and wealthy. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, two brothers, the sons of Aśvarāja whose father Caṇḍaprasāda was one of the ministers of Siddharāja, had by their position, wealth, learning and statesmanship acquired a dominant position in their community. They were highly respected by all. Someśvara, therefore, brought about an alliance between Lavaṇaprasāda and these two. The later legend that Bhīma himself appointed Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla¹⁰² to the ministry is contradicted by the fact that both of them for years called themselves the ministers of Vīradhavalā. In fact, the ruler, now of more than forty-five years of age, had become too feeble minded to count except as a rallying cry.

Lavaṇaprasād's son Vīradhavalā was about forty years at the time and a vigorous military leader. In pursuance of the new policy he took advantage of the difficulties of Śaṅkha and embarked on an aggressive policy by capturing Cambay in the name of Bhīmadeva. Vastupāla was appointed its governor.

Lavaṇaprasāda also took steps to obtain complete mastery over Saurāṣṭra by destroying a powerful and rich enemy on the battle-field of Wadhwan. Who this foe was is not clear, though some of the *Prabandhas* give the name of Bhīmasimha. Possibly he was Bhīmadeva himself acting with the support of some other feudatories.¹⁰³ This event happened after the appointment of Vastupāla in 1220 A.C. and Vastupāla's pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya at Girnar in 1221 A.C.

Lavaṇaprasāda then made common cause with four loyal feudatories of the north, an event which the *Prabandhas* describe as his 'war against four kings of Marwar'. One of them is likely to be the Cāhamāna of Nad-dūla. The heroic Kelhaṇa, the saviour of Gujarat, was dead; his son

¹⁰⁰ KK, II, vss. 86-107.

Buddhi-prakāśa, (1910), 77 : तदङ्गभूतो लवणप्रसादो धुमधरो वंशकरो नृपाणाम् । समुद्धता

येन रसातलान्तात् द्विजाश्च वेदाश्च पुनर्बभूवुः ॥

¹⁰² Arisimha, *Sukṣta-saṅkīrtana*. VI, 1-62.

¹⁰³ n. 33; KUC, 7, 11; *Prabandhakośa* (SJG), 104 f; CP, 210.

Jayatiha or Jayantasimha is known to have ruled Naddūla about 1194 A.C. ; but then it passed into the hands of the Cāhamāna Udayasimha of Jhalor (c. 1205-1249 A.C.).¹⁰⁴ The Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa of Abu must be the third loyal and brave feudatory. Lavaṇaprasāda entered into a treaty with these princes. In effect he placed himself at their head to save Gujarat.¹⁰⁵

VII

In 1223 A.C. Jayasimha, the son of Vastupāla, transacted the business of the seal for Viradhavala at Cambay. In 1226 A.C. Viradhavala came into conflict with the Mleccha Cakravartin, an event referred to in the *Hamīra-mada-mardana*. Udayasimha (1206-1249 A.C.), the Cāhamāna of Jhalor, who had stood loyal to Pāṭaṇa, had been overpowered by Iltutmish between 1211 and 1216 A.C.;¹⁰⁶ but no sooner Iltutmish returned to Delhi, he declared his independence. Under him Jhalor became powerful and his kingdom not only included Naddūla, but Mandor, north Jodhpur, Bhillamāla and Satyapura. He was also a scholar.

In 1226 A.C. Iltutmish invaded Marwar, possibly with the intention of pushing forward to Gujarat, which for twenty-five years had been a forbidden prize. The loyal chieftains of Gujarat, Viradhavala, Udayasimha, the old Dhārāvarṣa of Abu and his son Somasimha stood together. Bhīma II also accompanied the army ; he was the nominal emperor and the rallying point of loyalties. Jaitrasimha, styled Jayatala, the king of Medapāṭa (1213-1252 A.C.), had thrown off allegiance to Gujarat, had stood aloof, but paid the penalty of having his capital Nagadraha, modern Nagda, destroyed and plundered by the Turks.¹⁰⁷ Men, women and children were butchered. People threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invaders' hands.¹⁰⁸ Then he began harassing the invader on one side.¹⁰⁹ The army of Gujarat pressed him on the other. The invader, thereupon, retreated, capturing Mandor on the way.¹¹⁰ Viradhavala, with the army of victory, returned to his capital Dholka in triumph by way Abu, Candrāvati, Anāhilavāḍa, the capital of Gujarat king, and Karmāvati on the Sabarmati.¹¹¹ The credit of this victory goes to Viradhavala both for his valour as well as for the statesmanship with which he rallied round him the forces of Gujarat.

¹⁰⁴ *DHNI*, II, 1128.

¹⁰⁵ *KK*, V, 67 : संधाय बन्धुजनताजनितोपरोधाद्वीरैर्वैरुद्धहृदयोऽपि समं नृपैस्तैः, स्वार्था ससाद

नगरीं लवणप्रसादः ॥

¹⁰⁶ *Elliot*, II, 238.

¹⁰⁷ *WZKM*, XXI, 143 ff ; *EI*, XI, 73, n. 6.

¹⁰⁸ *HMM*, 30 :

हा तात हा तनय हा प्रिय हा मृगाक्षि हा भगिनि हा भद्र हा सुनाथ । एवं जनां विधुराणां परस्परं कोलाहलैः स्फुटितं हृदयं न कस्य । ततो मलिनजनहस्तमरणेन न भवति गतिरिति चिन्तयित्वा गलनिगडितरुद्वालानि कूपेषु पतितानि कान्यपि मिथुनानि ।

¹⁰⁹ *IA*, VI, 349 : तुरुकसैन्याणवकुंभयोनिः ररक्ष भूमिमथ जैत्रसिंहः ॥ ; *HR*, I, 469.

¹¹⁰ *HR*, II, 467 ; *DHNI*, II, 1021, n. 8.

¹¹¹ *KVC*, 46-48.

The last date of old Dhārāvārṣa of Abu known to epigraphic record is 1219 A.C. But if Jayasīrṃha's story as given in the *Hamīra-mada-mardana* is correct, the old man, possibly an octogenarian, was there to defend his land and his master whom he had served so well. As a young man he had participated in the first battle against Ghūrī in 1178 A.C. when Gujarat under the leadership of Kelhaṇa of Naddūla stood firm and unflinching. In 1194 A.C. he had led to war the army of Gujarat, faced Qutb-ud-Din, and failed. Possibly in 1197-98 A.C. he led the army when the invader was driven back. Now thirty years later this grand old warrior—the last great guardian of Gujarat's invulnerability—stood true and saved his land.

When Viradhavala was busy in the north, Śaṅkha of Lāṭa demanded the surrender of Cambay from Vastupāla. He threatened the minister, tempted him with bribes, but his efforts were unavailing. A grim battle took place between Vastupāla and Śaṅkha in which Śaṅkha suffered defeat. But he returned to Lāṭa only to bide his time. Within a few months a confederate force of the Yādava Siṅghaṇa, Devapāla of Malwa and Śaṅkha was marching on Cambay.¹¹² Vastupāla and Tejahpāla's son Lāvaṇya-sīrṃha stood the ground. In the meantime Siṅghaṇa and Devapāla fell out and withdrew. Vastupāla, making prudence the better part of valour, entered into a treaty with Śaṅkha. On the battle-field in Marwar, Viradhavala, when he heard the news, expressed his joy at the fact that the son of Sindhurāja had become his friend.¹¹³

By 1226 A.C. Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala had brought the northern feudatories of Pāṭaṇa in a line and made peace on behalf of his nominal suzerain Bhīma II with his southern neighbour Śaṅkha. This perhaps gave them the opportunity, when the victorious army was returning to Gujarat, of destroying Jayasīrṃha and capturing Pāṭaṇa. Jayasīrṃha Cālukya disappeared from history unhonoured and unsung; Bhīmadeva, with a new title 'Saptama Cakravartin', was installed at Anahilapāṭaka, and he celebrated his return to the capital by a grant to the temple of Mūleśvara, the family shrine of the royal Cālukyas. Gujarat had triumphed by the valour of Viradhavala, the loyalty of Lavaṇaprasāda, and the statesmanship of Vastupāla, and the wise Someśvara had succeeded beyond his dreams.

But they had to work with bad materials and in evil times. Gujarat lay bleeding when they came on the scene. It was harassed by enemies without and within. Parts of India were in the grip of able and unscrupulous foreigners who looked upon Gujarat as a prize denied too long. But they saved their country from the calamity which had befallen it and established a strong and well regulated government. Of them four, Vastupāla

¹¹² EI, I, 28, vs. 45 : धारापतिर्दक्षिण ~ - - - युगपत्समेतौ । धीरस्तयोरेव ।

समानतंत्र निष्कार ~ - - धक्षकार ॥

¹¹³ HMM, 5-6, 16; Jayasīrṃhasūri, *Sukṛtakīrtikallolīni*, vss. 138-140.

was the greatest. Under his careful ministry, Gujarat became rich. The court of Pāṭaṇa, his court in substance, revived the memories of Dhārā in matters of learning. The minister himself was the author of a poem *Naranārāyaṇānanda*. Architecture flourished as when Siddharāja ruled. Temples, monasteries, wells, tanks and gardens sprang up in different parts of Gujarat.

Someśvara, in the Girnar inscription of 1232 A.C., gives him deserved praise indeed, when in comparing him with Karṇa in generosity, he says "After Bhoja died and Muṇja became a king in the heaven, if there was one man who removed the distress of the afflicted it was Vastupāla."¹¹⁴

Lavaṇaprasāda was also wise beyond the measure of contemporary Kṣatriyas. Wielding all the powers of the ruler, he was content to remain only the first among the feudatories. This was perhaps a policy which became necessary in order not to offend other feudatories, but in that age it exhibited superhuman self-restraint. In the Abu inscription of 1230 A.C. of Somasinha, Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala are described as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras who obtained the maṇḍala by the favour of Bhīmadeva, and Tejahpāla is stated to be carrying on the business of the seal of Viradhavala.¹¹⁵

VIII

In or about 1232 A.C. Siṅghaṇa with a large army crossed the Tapti and overran the country round Broach. Pāṭaṇa trembled with fear. Terror-struck villagers fled in numbers. The march of the Yādava army was indicated by the villages which had been set on fire. Lavaṇaprasāda advanced to the banks of the Mahi to meet the enemy but suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.¹¹⁶ And the Yādava army also did not advance further. The reason given by Someśvara for the retreat of the army of Gujarat is that there was an attack in the north by four kings of Marwar, who were joined by the kings of Lāṭa and Godhra. But the real reason was a wise surrender. The terms of the treaty made by Siṅghaṇa with Lavaṇaprasāda on this occasion are preserved in one of the text books. The treaty is dated Vaiśākha Suda 15, v.s. 1288 from the camp of victory of Siṅghaṇadeva.¹¹⁷ It is clear from the terms of this treaty that Siṅghaṇa obtained a victory over Lavaṇaprasāda, who, it must be noted, entered into the treaty not on behalf of his master but as Sarveśvara, a dictator. At this time, he bore the title of Mahārājādhirāja.¹¹⁸ Perhaps soon thereafter he abdicated.

¹¹⁴ n. 31; *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, 328-29, vss. 3-4 :

भ्रातः

पातकिनां किमत्र कथया दुर्मन्त्रिणामेतया, येषां चेतसि नास्ति किंचिदपरं लोकोपकारं विना । नन्वस्यैव गुणान् गुणीहि गणशः श्रीवस्तुपालस्य यस्तद्विशेषकृतिव्रतं चरति यत्कर्णेन चीर्णं पुरा ॥ भित्वा भातुं भोजराजे प्रयाते श्रीमुञ्जेऽपि स्वर्गसाम्राज्यभाजि । एकः संप्रत्यर्थिनां वस्तुपालस्तिष्ठत्यश्रुस्यन्दनिष्कन्दनाय ॥

¹¹⁵ n. 41.

¹¹⁶ KK, 43, 63.

¹¹⁷ n. 46.

¹¹⁸ n. 45.

In the meantime, Iltutmish was forging ahead tirelessly. In 1233-34 A.C. he captured Gwalior, turned to Malwa, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, sacked the historical city of Ujjayinī and demolished the ancient shrine of Mahākāleśvara. When Devapāla was flying before Iltutmish, Viradhavala took the opportunity of reconquering Lāṭa ; and in 1239 A.C. Tejaḥpāla is found to be the governor of Broach.

In 1238 A.C. the brave Viradhavala died, but the old and imbecile Bhīma II still continued to rule in Pāṭaṇa, giving grants to Vedagarbharāśi and his son Someśvara.

Viradhavala's elder son Pratāpamalla was dead and the affairs of Gujarat were taken charge of by his younger son Viśaladeva under the title of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rānaka. Vastupāla followed his master in 1240 A.C. and Tejaḥpāla succeeded his elder brother as Mahāmātya.

The old king still lingered on surrounded possibly by imperial honours, maintained by the loyal grandson of Lavaṇaprasāda. In 1241 A.C., Bhīma-deva died and Tribhuvanapāla, his son, succeeded to the nominal kingship of Gujarat as Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka.

IX

Viśaladeva was an ambitious young man but was restrained by Tejaḥpāla from removing Tribhuvanapāla from the nominal suzerainty of Gujarat. In 1244 A.C. on Tribhuvanapāla's death Viśaladeva assumed in name the kingship which he had enjoyed in fact. In 1248 A.C. Tejaḥpāla died.

In 1251 A.C. we find the first grant of Viśaladeva. The *Prabandhas* ignore his reign possibly for the same reason for which they avoid reference to Ajayapāla's. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla had done their best to consolidate Gujarat ; but they were devout Jains and their power and influence must have been disliked by others. In 1251 A.C., therefore, we find no reference to a mahāmātya.¹¹⁹ In 1253 A.C., Someśvara still writes a praśasti for the new king.¹²⁰ In 1261 A.C., however, Mahāmātya Nāgaḍa is found in charge of the seal at Aṇahilapāṭaka.¹²¹

Viśaladeva was a military leader of great capacity. With the military camp of the Turk at Delhi throwing its shadow all over North India, he had to strengthen Gujarat. Before 1253 A.C. Viśaladeva marched on Malwa. After the occupation of Ujjayinī by Iltutmish, Devapāla's son Jaitugideva had driven the Turks out. But no sooner he had done so, than Siṅghapa's son Kṛṣṇa (c. 1247-1260 A.C.), the Yādava of Devagiri, invaded Malwa. In 1250 A.C. Nazirud-Dīn, the Sultān of Delhi, sent his general Balban to Malwa, who defeated the Paramāra. Taking advantage of this trouble, Viśaladeva marched on Mālwa sweeping everything before him. Curiously the kings of the time, like the Bourbons, never forgot nor learnt

¹¹⁹ *EI*, V, 102-103.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 20-32.

¹²¹ *IA*, VI, 210 : महाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्वीसलदेवकल्याणविजयिराज्ये महामात्यश्रीनागडे....।

anything. Visaladeva returned to Pāṭaṇa leaving the Paramāra more helpless than before.¹²²

Sometime before his death in 1247 A.C., Siṅghaṇa again invaded Gujarat only to be driven back by Visaladeva.¹²³ Visaladeva also defeated the ruler of Medapāṭa, Guhil Tejasimha (1260-67 A.C.)¹²⁴ and made an alliance with the Hoysala of Dvārasamudra by marrying a daughter of the king. The words in the inscription, 'puruṣottama' to whom was married Lakṣmī of Karpāṭaka, however, may only indicate that he inflicted a defeat on the Hoysala king, Vīra Someśvara (1236-56 A.C.), or his son Narasimha. Visaladeva appears to have lost a battle to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Siṅghaṇa.¹²⁵

Throughout the reign of Visaladeva the Nāgara minister Nāgaḍa seems to have remained in power and so was Salakhaṇasimha, the descendant of the famous Udayana of Kumārapāla's time.¹²⁶ Under this king even the literary glory of Pāṭaṇa revived. He was as great a patron of learning as he was valorous. The old Someśvara, the family priest, historian and diplomat, the descendant in an unbroken line of the priest who had crowned Mūlarāja, was alive till 1253 A.C. to see the success of his statesmanlike vision in inspiring Lavaṇaprasāda to undertake the great work of re-organising Gujarat. In the Dabhoi inscription of 1253 A.C. the old poet sings the swan song of the royal Cālukyas. "Oh ! Lord, one ruler of all the worlds, I ask of your mercy. Oh ! Lord, I offer but one prayer. Let this Visaladeva be free from enemies. Let him be victorious till the end of time."¹²⁷

In 1262 A.C., Visaladeva placed his nephew Arjunadeva on the throne. Probably he died soon thereafter.¹²⁸

¹²² EI, I, 28, vs. 58 : श्रीवीसलः क्षमापतिर्धाराधीश्वरदक्षिणेश्वरा..... 1: IA, VI, 210 ;

मालवाधीशमानमर्दन..... 1; 1; Ibid. XI, 106, vs. 4 : धौरेयो धवलान्वयेऽत्र समये श्रीसिद्धराजोपमः धाम्नां धाम भभूव वीरधवलद्राजा विभुर्वीसलः । यस्योच्चैरभिवेणनव्यतिकरोज्ज्वालज्ज्वलन्मालवोन्मीलद्भूमपरंपराभिरभवद्घोरान्धकारं नभः ॥ ; Ibid., 102, vs. 6 : कीर्ताभिः प्रव्रजेन मालवतृपान्निर्धूतमुक्तामणि-श्रेणिश्रीभिरमण्डपप्रियतमां यः कीर्तिभिर्मैदिनी । तस्येयं नयविक्रमैकवसतेः श्रीवीसलक्षमाभुजो मूर्तिर्मंडनतां दधातु सुचिरं धाम्नीह सारस्वते ॥

¹²³ IA, VI, 210 : सिंघणसैन्यसमुद्रसंशोषणवडवानल...

¹²⁴ Ibid. : मेदपाटकदेशकलुषराज्यवल्लीकंदोच्छेदनकुहालकल्पकर्णाटराजजलधितनयास्वयंवरपुरुषोत्तम-भुजबलभीम.....

¹²⁵ Hemādri, Vṛtakhaṇḍa, vs. 46 : येनाकारि विशालवीसलचमूंसंहारकालानले ।

¹²⁶ HIG, III, n. 213, 42, vss. 7, 8, 9, 11 : श्रीवीसलमहीपालः श्रीसलक्षकराम्बुजम् । चक्रे सौराष्ट्रकरणस्वर्णमुद्रांशुभासुरम् ॥स लाटदेशाधिकृतः प्रभोस्तस्यैव शासनात् ॥ प्रेयसे प्रेयस्तस्य भ्रातुः सामंतमन्त्रिणा । सलक्षनारायण इत्यस्यापि प्रतिमा हरेः ॥यथा वीसलभूपालः सुराष्ट्राधिकृतं व्यधात् । सामंतसिंहसचिवं तथैवार्जुनभूपतिः ॥

¹²⁷ EI, I, 31, vs. 113 : श्रीवैद्यनाथ भगवन् भुवनैकनाथ त्वामर्थये किमपि देव तव प्रसादात् ।

नित्यमरातिरहितः सहितश्च पुत्रैः कल्यायुतं जयतु वीसलदेव एषः ॥

¹²⁸ Ibid, 272.

X

Arjunadeva's inscriptions range from 1264-1273 A.C., though Merutuṅga gives the last year of his reign as v.s. 1331 i.e. 1274 A.C. His Veraval grant of 1264 A.C. is a unique document.¹²⁹ It states that when Arjunadeva was reigning victoriously at Aṇahilapāṭaka and while the Mahāmātya Rāṇaka Māladeva was transacting the business of the seal and Amīr-Rukunādīna was reigning on the coast of Horamuja (Hormuzd), one ship-owner Norādīna Piroja, a native of Horamujadeśa with the blessings of the Pāśu-patācārya of the shrine of Somanātha, bought a piece of land outside the town of Somanātha and built a mijigiti (masjid). For the maintenance of this temple (masjid), he dedicated certain shops and appointed trustees including the Muslim congregations (jamātha i.e. *Jam'at*) of Nākhuyā-aurika (ship-owners), of wharf-people (Ghattaka) who were devoted to the Martyr and their preacher (Khalibā), and of the Mussalmans among the landholders (pathapati) and the (Persian) artisans (cuṇakara). When the rulers at Delhi were devastating the country ruthlessly and destroying the holy shrines of the Hindu, this broadmindedness on the part of the Hindu king of Pāṭaṇa is, from a cultural point of view, a sharp and welcome relief. But it also explains why the Kṣatriyas of India with their generous traditions could not withstand the all destroying Turk.

Arjunadeva was succeeded by Sāraṅgadeva, his son, who ruled from 1274 to 1296 A.C. He used all the pompous titles of his predecessors; he was a 'comet to the kingdom of Mālava' and fought the Yādava king Rāmacandra (1271-1310 A.C.)¹³⁰. The Mālava king whom he defeated was Jayavarmā II (1256-1260 A.C.). The kings were at their old, old game; Devgiri fighting Gujarat; Gujarat fighting Malwa; Ranthambhor in the north, the new citadel of the Cāhamānas, fighting Malwa; all degenerate princelets harassing each other, unable to unite against the common enemy who was at their throat all the time, and unable even to foresee the danger that was threatening them.

XI

In 1266 A.C. the last of the Slave Kings of Delhi was dead and Balban was raised to its throne. The kingdom of Delhi had not fared well after the death of Aibak in 1210 A.C. When he died the kingdom had comprised only of Delhi, Ajmere, Budaun, the surrounding tracts, and the military camps of Hansi, Meerut and Siālkot. From these centres, the Turkish military leaders, with the aid of the contingents drawn from Ghazna and reinforced by local bands, in search of booty, had raided India from Pāṭaṇa to Lakṣanāvati. But when he died, little was left in the hands of his successor. Sind was independent under the Sumra kings who were Rajput converts. The generals in charge of Multan, the Punjab and Bengal became inde-

¹²⁹ *IA*, XI, 241-245.¹³⁰ *Purāṭatva*, I, Pt. I, 39-41.

pendent and carried on destruction on their own account, no doubt, surrounded by undying eddies of resistance carried on by the heroic warriors of India, who wrote endless epics with their blood.

Between 1211 and 1236 A.C. Iltutmish had to spend twenty-five years of unabated effort to re-establish temporary military supremacy of Delhi over some of the resisting Indian kings. His conquests, like Aibak's, were ceaseless military operations made with the aid of foreign mercenaries or armies locally raised. On his death the Muslim military governors of Oudh, Budaun, Multan, Hansi, Lahore and Bengal threw in their lot with the people and became independent. Delhi was the home of perpetual intrigues and rivalries between the Turkish nobles who supported the central authority. The Moghuls of Ghazna made constant inroads on its military camps in the north-west. The hostile Hindu chieftains left them in no peace.

The rhapsodical account given by the Muslim chroniclers 'of the suppression of a rising or the capture of a fortress, of towns and villages burnt, of whole districts laid waste, of temples destroyed and idols overthrown, of hecatombs of misbelievers sent to hell, and of thousands of women and children enslaved' as waging a holy war against idolatry and the propagation of Islam, is *ex post facto* attempt at religious propaganda.¹³¹ It provides an incorrect picture of the times. In fact able and unscrupulous chieftains combined under a few military leaders to loot India. The loot was carried on with systematic skill by establishing a chain of military outposts. 'Rebellion and overt disaffection were repressed with ruthless severity, and were doubtless made occasions of proselytism, but the sin was rebellion, not religious error.'¹³²

In 1292 A.C. Alla-ud-din, nephew of Firuz, the Khilji king of Delhi, invaded Malwa, captured the town of Bhilsa, plundered the countryside and brought large booty to Delhi. When in Malwa, this ambitious young man had heard of Devagiri, now ruled by Rāmacandra, the Yādava (1271-1304 A.C.), and of Warangal ruled by Rudrammādevī, the daughter of Gaṇapati of the Kākatiya dynasty, under the title of Rudradeva Mahārāja (c. 1261-1295 A.C.). Alla-ud-din set out from Delhi in 1294 A.C., marched to Devagiri, plundered the Yādava's dominions and brought back a prize of 17,250 lbs. of gold, 200 lbs. of pearls, 58 lbs. of other gems, 28,250 lbs. of silver and 1,000 pieces of silk. He first went to Kara, his principality. By simulating humility he attracted his uncle there. On his arrival, Firuz was killed by an act of treachery and ingratitude. The murderer became the ruler of Delhi in 1296 A.C.¹³³

Sāraṅgadeva was succeeded by Kaṇhadeva (c. 1297-1304 A.C.) to the throne of Pāṭana about the same time. Kaṇa, in spite of popular legends, was neither weak nor wicked. Legends that have collected round his name

¹³¹ CHI, III, 88-89.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 90.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 97.

are mere accretions which great failure brings. The inscription of 1298 A.C. describes him as 'protecting his people in accordance with the *Vedas* and the *Sāstras*'.¹³⁴ Karna was new to his kingdom and so was Allauddin. But Alla-ud-din was the most unscrupulous ruler who sat on the throne of Delhi, and was flushed with victory. On coming to the throne he first turned his attention to the fertile plains and wealthy ports of Gujarat,¹³⁵ which had defied Delhi for a century. Under his orders Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān with a large army marched against it.

There is a persistent legend that Karna's Mahāmātya Mādhava, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, invited Alla-ud-din to Gujarat. Merutuṅga, the author of the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and Jinaprabha Sūri, the author of the *Tirtha-kalpataru*, both contemporaries, refer to this incident. The subsequent authorities are unanimous about it.¹³⁶ The *Dharmāraṇya* composed between 1300-1450 A.C., describes how the wicked, graceless, sinful minister Mādhava, the blot on his family and the foe of his country, destroyed the rule of the Kṣatriyas and established the rule of the mlecchas. Whether Mādhava betrayed his country for a private wrong or for personal benefit is difficult to say. The reason for this betrayal, first given by the *Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, was that Mādhava destroyed the country to revenge himself on Karna, who, enamoured of his brother's wife had killed the husband and appropriated the wife.¹³⁷ Though this was accepted by later writers, it sounds too much like the usual legendary way of attributing a personal motive to kings and ministers, and is consistent neither with the character of Karna as disclosed by unimpeachable testimony, nor by the version given by the three earliest authorities. The betrayal of Gujarat by a Brāhmaṇa of culture and position however indicates not only the lack of any consciousness that it was an unforgivable sin to betray one's land to a foreigner but, worse, complete unawareness of what the Turkish conquest involved.

In 1300 A.C. Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān invaded Gujarat.¹³⁸ Padma-

¹³⁴ *Buddhi-prakāśa*, (1910), LVII, (March-April), Paper on "Muralidhar Temple Inscription," vs. 13 : श्रुतिशास्त्रविरोधेन सोयं पालयति प्रजाः ।

¹³⁵ *Elliot*, III, 163.

¹³⁶ *PC*, was written between 1303-1306 A.C. *VTK*, was also written about the same time. *Dharmāraṇya* may be assigned to the period 1300-1450 A.C. and *Kānhaḍade-prabandha* to c. 1456 A.C. *GL*, 103. *Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, I, 13-15 : तिणि अवसरि गूजरधरराई, सारंगदे नामि बोलाई । तिणि अवगणिउ माधव बंभ, ताहि लगइ बिग्रह आरंभ ॥ रीसाच्यु मुल्यु परधान, करी प्रतिज्ञा नीम्यु धान । गूजराती नुं भोजन करुं जु तरकाणु आणु अरुं ॥ *Dharmāraṇya* LXVII, 68-69 : राज्यासने स्थितः कर्णो महाराजः प्रतापवान् । जातोऽमात्यस्तस्य दुष्टो निर्गुणो माधवाद्धयः ॥ देशद्रोहकरः पापी दुष्टात्मा च कुलाधमः । क्षत्रराज्यस्य विध्वंसो म्लेच्छराज्यस्य स्थापकः ॥ *VTK*, 30 : अह तेरहसय छपण-विक्रमवरिसे अल्लावदीणसुरताणस, कणिद्रो भांया उल्लुखाननामाधिजो दिर्ल्लीपुराओ गुज्जरधरं पट्टिओ ।

¹³⁷ *GL*, 103.

¹³⁸ Jinaprabha Sūri, a contemporary, gives the year as v.s. 1356 (1300 A.C.), Meru-

nābha, the author of *Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, has given a detailed description of the invasion.

Alla-ud-din wanted to bribe the Cāhamāna Kānhaḍade of Jhalor to let him pass through his country. He declined the bribe. Then Samarasimha of Chitor let the army pass through his territory.

Pillaging, burning, destroying, the Muslim army marched towards Pāṭana. "The Mussalmans, with Mādhava at their head, invest the city. The ex-minister, traitor to the last, advises Karna to escape with his life. The king takes the advice; the queen flees on foot; and the capital falls into the hands of Alafkhan, the general of Alla-ud-din. And from what once were temples was sounded the muezzin's call to prayers."

The army then started on a further campaign of conquest and destruction to the south. It carried carnage right upto Surat, Rander, and the sea; it returned to Saurāṣṭra, destroyed many of its towns, and proceeded to Prabhāsa. The Rajputs mobilised their strength to protect the shrine of Somanātha, and valiantly fought the enemy. But the fortress fell, and in front of the temple, which they had vainly sought to protect, the heroic warriors, after ceremonial bathing and anointment, fell fighting, and surrendered themselves to Somanātha. Mādhava, the cause of this evil, was also killed.

The temple had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Alaf Khān broke open the shrine, shattered the idol to pieces and carried away the fragments in a cart to Delhi. "We shall make chunam out of it," he said.

The poet indignantly asks :

Ah Rudra ! Lord !

Thy wrath reduced to ashes

The graceless demons of yore ;

Thou didst then overspread the earth with Dharma ;

The power which oppress't the gods,

Thou did'st shatter.

As the wind bloweth away the chaff

Thou did'st put to flight

The wicked demon Tripura.

Oh Destroyer, I, Padmanabha, ask Thee,

Where is the mighty trident of Thine ?

The conquering army, the poet proceeds, burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth, took Brāhmaṇas, children and women of all castes captive, and flogged them with throngs of raw hide, carried a moving prison with it, and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks.¹³⁹

Thus ended the Glory that was Gūjaradeśa.

tuṅga in *Vicāra-śreṇī* gives v.s. 1360 (1304 A.C.); *Murat-i-Ahmadi*, 1297 A.C., which BGI, Pt. I, accepts. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* gives 1299 A.C.; but *Tazi-tul Amasir*, *Tarikh-i Alai* and *Tarikh-i-Tiruzshahi*, all contemporaneous chronicles, give 1300 A.C. Muhaṇota Nensi gives the date as about 1298 A.C.

¹³⁹ GL, 103-104.

NOTE

The *Prabandha* records are not correct, when they say that Karṇa fled the field. He fought hard and grimly.¹¹⁰ Then he withdrew to Baglana near Nasik. In c. 1306 A.C., when Alafkhan wanted to join Malik-Kafur on the borders of the Deccan, he successfully resisted the progress of Alafkhan. At this time, he was assisted by Saṅkaradeva, the son of Rāmacandra, the Yādava of Devagiri, to whom Karṇa had betrothed his daughter Devaladevī. Alafkhan, however, pursued Karṇa in the mountains and defeated his forces. Leaving his elephants and equipage on the field of battle, Karṇa fled to Devgiri,¹¹¹ and the last Cālukya of Pāṭana died in obscurity.¹¹²

The story of the conquest of Gujarat is borrowed by the Muslim chroniclers of the Court of Delhi from the imaginary episodes contained in *Āṣikī* or *Davalārānī va Khijrahkhān* by Amir Khusru composd in 1316 A.C. The story contains the following events.

- (1) Alla-ud-din comes to the throne in 1297 A.C.
- (2) He sends his brother Ulagh Khān who burns and destroys Gujarat and destroys shrines.
- (3) Ulagh Khān invades Gujarat a second time, defeats Karṇa and brings his queen Kamalādevī, whom Alla-ud-din makes a begum.
- (4) Devaladevī her daughter is six months old at the time.
- (5) Alla-ud-din wants a slave girl for his prince Khijra Khān. Kamalādevī requests him to get Devaladevī.
- (6) Alla-ud-din sends a message to Karṇa to send his daughter to Delhi for being married to Prince Khijra. Karṇa agrees to send her.
- (7) Alla-ud-din changes his mind, and sends Ulagh Khān to annex Gujarat to the Sultanate.
- (8) Saṅkaradeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri, wants Devaladevī to be married to Bhillamadeva, his brother. Karṇa unwillingly accepts the offer and sends Devaladevī to Devagiri.
- (9) Ulagh Khān's soldiers capture Devaladevī while she is on her way and is sent to Delhi.
- (10) Khijra who is ten and Devala who is eight years old fall in love with each other as brother and sister.
- (11) A few years later their love undergoes a change and they are married.
- (12) At the instigation of Malik Kafur, Alla-ud-din locks up Khijra in the fort of Gwalior.
- (13) Alla-ud-din dies in 1316 A.C. and Malik Kafur puts Khijra's eyes out. Kafur is however killed.

¹¹⁰ *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, and *Tafar-u-Walih*, edited by Ross, II, 789; *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, II, 263; *Elliot*, III, 163.

¹¹¹ *TF*, I, 365.

¹¹² *Purāṭatva*, IV, 272 : गूर्जरत्राधिपः कर्णस्तूर्णं यस्य प्रतापतः । नष्ट्वा गतो विदेशेषु

- (14) Mubarak, the Sultan, the guardian of his younger brother, imprisons the latter also in the fort of Gwalior.
- (15) Mubarak wants Devala for himself. Khijra declines.
- (16) Khijra and Shahab-ud-din are murdered.

Following this story Ferishta (1607 A.C.) also states that Alla-ud-din invaded Gujarat twice—second time in 1306 A.C. Ferishta and his contemporary Bada'yuni both accept the episode of Devaladevī as true. Later historians have copied these stories.

In fact Alla-ud-din only invaded Gujarat once, not twice. Jiyā-ud-dīn Baranī, a historian and a contemporary of Khusru, refers to only one invasion in 1297 A.C. as a result of which Kaṇha lost his throne and his women and children were captured. Muhaṇota Nainasī, the Rajput historian, also refers to only one invasion in 1298-99 A.C. induced by Mādhava. All authorities agree that as a result of this invasion Kaṇha lost his throne. There was no Kaṇha on the throne in 1306 or 1308 A.C. to require a second invasion. Ulagh Khān, who was said to be the general in command of the second invasion of 1306 A.C., in fact died in 1302 A.C. in the battle of Ranthambhor.

According to Ferishta, Kaṇha was willing to marry Devala to a Turk, but not to the Yādava of Devagiri because he was a Maratha, a caste lower than that of a Rajput. This reason is absurd on the face of it, and is based on a complete ignorance of Kṣatriya sentiments of the day. Yadavas were considered Kṣatriya kings; the Turks, mlecchas.

The dates of the ages of Devaladevī and Khijra are so conflicting that no true basis for the episode can be formed.

There is nothing to show that Kaṇha had a daughter of the name of Devala. OJHA after a complete survey of authorities rightly holds that Khusru borrowed the name of Devaladevī from the name of the daughter of Hammīradeva of Ranthambhor whom according to the *Hammīra-rāso*, Alla-ud-din wanted for his son. The episodes of Kamalādevī and Devaladevī are pure fiction. Vide *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patrikā*, XI, No. 4; 'Gujarati' Annual Number (1933), p. 15.

CHAPTER XI

RETROSPECT

I

THE political evolution of Gūrjaradeśa from 500 to 1300 A.C. as given before had four distinct stages. In the first stage from 550 to 750 A.C. the territory now comprising Rajputana, Gujarat and Malwa was divided into small states one of which was Gūrjara ; but it was occupied by a homogeneous population. In parts it was subjected to the fitful vassalage of the imperial power of Pāṭaliputra, Kanauj, and Vātāpi. In this stage the Pratihāras and the Cāhamānas of Gūrjaradeśa starting from Śrīmāla overran modern Gujarat : crossed swords with emperor Prabhākaravardhana of Thaneswar ; and strengthened its northern boundary by occupying Sambar and Mandor.

In the second stage from 750-940 A.C., we see an internal movement among the local Kṣatriya clans of this territory led by the Pratihāras to consolidate it and to reach out for imperial power. Under the First Empire, the limits of Gūrjaradeśa were extended ; an imperial hierarchy was built up ; other struggling empires were subdued or crippled ; the imperial capital of India, Kānyakubja, was appropriated. Practically the whole of North India was brought under sway ; and the foreigners on the North-West frontier and the imperial Rāṣtrakūṭa power of the South were held in effective check. Between 815 and 940 A.C. the emperor of Gūrjaradeśa was in name and substance the Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta presiding over an imperial fabric as majestic as any in history. In 940 A.C. the Rāṣtrakūṭa emperor of Mānyakheta by a raid in the North broke the imperial power of the Pratihāras. The raid was pyrrhic for the invaders. In the very effort, exhausted and broken, the empire of the South went to pieces.

The third stage between 940 and 1300 A.C. saw the imperial power of Gūrjaradeśa passing from one family of hierarchs to other ; from the Pratihāras to the Paramāras the founders of the Second Empire, from 940 to 1074 A.C. ; and from the Paramāras of Dhārā to the Cālukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa of the Third Empire from 1074 to 1300 A.C. The continuity of power, however, remained unbroken. Siyaka, Muñja and Bhoja, Karna, Jayasimha, Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla, Bāla Mūlarāja and Bhīma II till c. 1200 A.C. were the direct successors of Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapāla.

The Arabs appeared in India a little before the second stage began. The founder of the Pratihāra dynasty, Nāgabhaṭa I, was the first to sweep the first Arab raid out of Gūrjaradeśa. For two hundred and twenty

years or more the imperial Gŭrjaras kept the growing power of Islam at bay, strengthened the Hindu kings of Kabul, brought practically the whole of Sind back within the folds of Dharma. The weakening of the First Empire dismembered Gŭrjaradeśa and gave Sultān Maḥmūd his spectacular successes for a time. But it was an imperial Gŭrjara—Bhoja Paramāra—who aided a hierarchy of Gŭrjaradeśa, Bhīma Cālukya, to drive him out of Saurāṣṭra. It was Bhīma's descendants, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, who, wielding the sceptre of the imperial Gŭrjaras, reduced Maḥmūd's successors, the Yamīnis, to nerveless impotence. In 1178 A.C. Bhīma, the Cālukya, the imperial Gŭrjara of the day, drove back invading Islam. It was again a prince of Gŭrjaradeśa, an imperial hierarchy's son, who defended India's integrity, in 1192 A.C. This Prthvirāja Cāhamāna, Siddharāja's great-grandson, fought and died in defence of his land and faith on the battlefield of Taorari. And in 1199 A.C. when Aibak advanced to Pāṭana, Gŭrjaradeśa, tottering under the blow which it had received, made its last great stand against the enemy of its freedom and its faith.

The last stage of Gŭrjaradeśa between 1199 and 1200 A.C. was one of disintegration. The Cālukyas who occupied the imperial position were exhausted. The Cāhamānas, like dying heroes, struggled till the last gasp. The Pratihāras as a power had disappeared long ago. The Paramāras were more interested in internal vendetta than national defence. There was no imperial focus to unite them.

Between 1200 and 1240 A.C. we see the last fitful gleam of dying greatness. Feudatories tried to stand together. Wise men wasted their statesmanship on efforts to postpone the day of dissolution.

But dissolution came in 1300 A.C. The last successor of the imperial Gŭrjaras fled to the forests of the Deccan, betrayed by his minister, pursued by his foes, to die an inglorious death.

II

The first question, no doubt speculative, which arises in connection with the history of this period, is why did India go under the raids of Ghūrī and Aibak between 1192 and 1210 A.C.? Bhīma of Pāṭana, Prthvirāja of Ajmere and Jayacandra of Kanauj each had a sufficient force to defeat the invader singly. Bhīma defeated Ghūrī in 1178 A.C.; Prthvirāja defeated him in 1191 A.C. In valour the Indians, if not better, were certainly not inferior to the foe. For their land and faith, they flung their lives away with glorious abandon. They fought with an audacious tenacity against overwhelming odds, as was seen in the resistance put up by Prthvirāja's successor at Ranthambhor. There was plenty of patriotism, plenty of hatred for the mleccas who 'destroyed the Brāhmaṇa, the woman and the cow'. In point of equipment also there was little difference; if at all, the advantage lay on the Indian side, which had, in addition, the crushing weight of elephants.

Islam in its military aspect was not a deliberately planned world-conquest. It was a volcanic eruption which spread its blazing lava in Asia,

in Europe, in Africa. Within two hundred years of the rise of Mohamed, the Prophet, its conquests included Spain, Portugal, and the bulk of France ; northern Africa including upper and lower Egypt ; the whole of the middle East upto the Indus ; Transoxiana and Mekran. It was Theodosius III who stemmed the tide in Europe in 712 A.C.; it was Nāgabhaṭa I who rolled it back from India on the battle-fields of Gūrjaradeśa. Checked by the bulwark of the Pratihāra power, the flood rolled on to central Asia and thence to China. It was a vast elemental phenomenon. Few nations could withstand it. India did it under the imperial Gūrjaradeśa.

Why did it then fail before Ghūrī and Aibak ? It could not be due to the Indian climate for it is not known to have changed since the days of Chandragupta, Samudragupta or of Mihira Bhoja. Nor to Varṇāśramadharmā ; for all communities, as is clear from contemporary records, participated in the wars ; and Dharma was upheld at no time more staunchly than when Skandagupta drove the Hūnas out or when the four standing armies of Mihira Bhoja enforced peace and guarded the frontiers.

The difference lay, however, in three factors.

First, the armies of Ghūrī and Aibak consisted of roving bands of armed adventurers from Central Asia operating in enemy land, inspired by an insatiate lust for plunder, destruction and rape. The armies of India, after the standing army of Jayasimha Siddharāja was disbanded, were not strictly armies ; they consisted of feudal chieftains, large and small, and their retainers combining only under the stress of a crisis to defend the land or obey the call of their liege. When the Cālukya or the Cāhamāna banner flew on the Sutlej, the heroes who accomplished the feat never dreamt of wiping out the Yamīnis. The message which Prthvīrāja sent to Ghūrī on the eve of the second battle of Tarāori was only to go back to his land, nothing more. Rooted in soil and tradition, brought up in a well-arranged social atmosphere, the Indians never developed the intrepidity to wrest the initiative from the enemy and destroy him hip and thigh. To this must be added the superior generalship of Ghūrī, a seasoned soldier ; against him was the brilliant and impetuous Prthvīrāja in whose hands heredity had thrust the responsibility for one of the most fateful events in history.

The second factor was psychological. The enemy had an impelling corporate aim. Defeat meant destruction in a foreign land ; conquest brought loot, women, position. The dangers of the adventure sharpened their wits and courage ; the lure of gain kept up their morale.

The third factor which worked against the Indians was the intense localisation of group sentiment. At one time the frontiers of Dharma were identical with the frontiers of Āryāvarta ; the maintenance of Varṇāśramadharmā was the first of royal duties. After the break-up of the Pratihāra empire each ruler cared for his own little territory ; it was no longer an Āryāvarta to be maintained from its centre, Antarvedi ; it was Gujarat or Malwa, Sapādalakṣa or Medapāṭa which had to be maintained. When

Ghūrī invaded Ajmere, Pṛthvīrāja believed that the defence of Sapādalakṣa was his concern, no one else's. He never could dream of calling upon Pāṭāṇa and Malwa to help him. He would have scorned to seek the assistance of Jayacandra ; and it is doubtful whether Jayacandra would have given it.

This kind of narrowness was not peculiar to India. In a historical investigation of the events of the thirteenth century, it is an error to apply the test of the nation-state of modern times to any part of the world. The exigencies of the situation in the seventeenth and eighteenth century in Western Europe first drove the king to ally himself with the upper-middle class against the feudal barons. In search of safety against the marauding barons, the middle class developed a national consciousness round the focus of Henry VIII or Louis XIV and the nation-state became a factor in international life only early in the nineteenth century. In Europe, even in the eighteenth century, the German emperor and his electors as also France, Spain, Holland and Scandinavia preferred to conduct a fratricidal Thirty Years' War rather than resist the extension of the Turkish power which had supplanted the great Christian empire of Constantinople. Before Cardinal Richelieu in France and Henry VIII in England coerced the feudal chieftains into unity, every one of them had been purchasing his existence and power by selling his neighbour to a third party, which was more often than not an ambitious foreign power. At the Diet of Ratisban, Cardinal Richelieu, in the name of the most Christian Majesty of France, successfully intrigued to destroy the military strength of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in order that his friend, the Protestant king of Scandinavia, might invade Germany. And it was this Cardinal minister of Louis XIII who entered into a treaty with the Muslim Turks to weaken the Christian Hapsburg emperor.

To go back two hundred years earlier it was the jealousy of the roving chieftains of uncivilised Western Europe which undermined the power of the great Christian empire of Byzantium and delivered it to the Turks. And in the twentieth century before the outbreak of World War II, the intrigues of nation-states were conducted all over the world irrespective of religion or race. Fifth-columnists of each country tried to betray their own country to a foreign power or sabotaged national redemption in order to help foreign domination. Human nature has, therefore, not much changed during the last thousand years.

In India of the thirteenth century Bhīma, Pṛthvīrāja and Jayacandra, in spite of internal jealousies, were all combined in sentiment against the hated mleccha but fought him only by turns instead of in concert. They cannot be blamed for not being many hundred years in advance of their times.

Another factor of importance in this investigation is the outlook which each side brought to bear upon the war. The Indian outlook was that it was a combat of cultured men. The Turk looked upon it as a total war.

wherein nothing was sacred. Bhoja's general marched to Pāṭaṇa in the reign of Jayasimha ; but he touched neither shrine, nor palace, nor place of learning. Every non-combatant was to him sacred, outside the ambit of civilized warfare. When Ulughkhān sacked Pāṭaṇa, he left it a charnel-house ; women and children had to jump into wells to escape a life worse than death. When the foreigner had levelled a thousand temples in sacred Vārāṇasī to the ground and broken the ancient shrines of Mahākāla in hoary Ujjayinī to bits, the Vāghelā king was protecting a handful of Muslims in the pursuit of their alien faith in sacred Prabhāsa, with the blessings of the religious head of the shrine of Somanātha. Before the Indian king with his exquisite refinement and humane outlook could learn the ways of total war, he had gone under. Culture was fighting Barbarism with unequal weapons. It naturally lost.

But again the question arises ; why did Gūrjaradeśa of Mihira Bhoja degenerate into the Gūrjaradeśa of Bhima ? Bhoja could maintain a large standing army. He was a terror to the foreign Arab powers. In his time converts to Islam were won back to the ways of Dharma. Why then did Gūrjaradeśa fail to maintain the virility of that age ?

This change can only be understood in the light of the factors governing social and political growth. A socio-political unit can only be built up or maintained by the co-ordinated activities of a group which, under the urge of a collective will, enforces a uniformity of outlook and action on a mass of people. The early Roman empire was the product of the activities of a few thousand inhabitants of Rome, who combined to superimpose a unity on less advanced neighbours by an elaborate system of coercive processes controlled only by themselves. And so long as Rome remained the party headquarters of this band of determined oppressors, her empire lasted. The empire of Byzantium, which flourished for over ten centuries, was organised and maintained by the Roman and Greek hierarchic families, who imposed their will on the less advanced countries on the shores of Levant by organising themselves round the focus of the emperor, who more often than not was one of themselves. The British Empire, which is only about two hundred years old, is the product of the few families of Britain who have organised themselves to impose their will on the less advanced or equipped races of the world by improving upon the methods of the Roman Empire and creating an imperial focus in the person of the ornamental king of England. The Japanese empire has the unique distinction of being the most logical. The emperor provides the focus ; the Samurai, an organised band of hierarchs. The coercive processes in each case have been a well-equipped military machine controlled by the heads of the hierarchy. In each case the progress necessary for maintaining the organisation have been applied by a group of well drilled men who created and supported a focus to enable them to share the spoils drawn from countries and races coerced by them into an organisation.

In modern times with the spread of education and the break-up of the feudal system, the band of hierarchs does not comprise of hereditary chieftains but of highly trained voluntary recruits whom we call party leaders. The party is a group of men combined for a conscious purpose and is the modern substitute for the hereditary imperial hierarchy. But the object and technique are the same, namely to create a focus and a hierarchy and to forge the coercive energy necessary to regulate human masses into large scale organisations. Modern creators of political power have only used the psychological and social forces inherent in modern life to transmute the old methods of mass organisation into new ones.

In ancient India, during the empires which preceded the Empire of Pāṭaliputra (700 B.C. to 100 A.C.), the Aryans, particularly the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, a close knit class, provided the hierarchy which imposed the organisation on the masses in the country. The Empire of Pāṭaliputra—the dynasties and breaks are immaterial—was one continuous process by which the twice born of the Gangetic valley, divided into the three corporations, imposed an elaborate organisation on the country by the coercive processes of kings. But behind them was the tremendous educative and cultural machinery of far reaching potency which the Brāhmaṇas wielded. This educative machinery soon outstripped the coercive machinery and large masses of men came into the field of Dharma to whom organised political power of the kings was not able to reach. The result was that though the educative and cultural machinery remained the same, a number of unco-ordinated political foci came into existence in the country. In a large country like India and with the crude equipments of coercion available for the age nothing else was possible.

The Gupta emperors and the apostles of Aryan culture raised the level of the country's culture ; they could not create a well-knit political hierarchy for the whole country, Between the different political centres which thus came into existence there was a perpetual struggle for territory or dynastic prestige, weakening the will for a national focus. Yet a national focus remained. It was only transferred from Pāṭaliputra to Kanauj after 1200 years. The Empire of Kanauj (550-1200 A.C.) in the beginning was the creation of great military leaders who took advantage of the break-up of the Gupta empire ; but the South had become politically active and another focus was set up at Vātāpi.

Two national foci were Kanauj and Vātāpi ; ' two sets of hierarchs ', the heads of the Kṣatriya clans of Gūrjaradeśa and Karṇāṭaka ; two emperors struggling for power ; thus was the country divided from 725 A.C. to 940 A.C.

Imperial Kanauj as the national focus did not outlast the break-up of the First Empire. First, the Brāhmaṇas as an educative and cultural agency with its India-wide outlook had never accepted Kanauj as the only cultural centre of Āryāvarta. Secondly, the imperial hierarchs, consistently with their localised sentiment, found it more attractive to have their own little centres of

power than to stand together round an imperial throne. For instance, when Paramāra Bhoja, captured Kanauj, it had no imperial associations left. His own Dhārā had gathered fresh associations for him and so he preferred to rule from there. This change of imperial capital, therefore, destroyed the sense of imperial continuity, and dissolved the bond which subsisted between the hierarchs and the imperial throne of Gūrjaradeśa. Each one in his own principality relied for power more and more on his local chiefs. A trained military service, working for a single imperial centre, upborne by a concert of hierarchs, became difficult to achieve. To his lasting credit Jayasīṃha Siddharāja built up a small imperial hierarchy round Pāṭāṇa once again. But he had a weak successor and only for a short while could it stave off the dissolution of imperial power. The polygamous habits of the Kṣatriyas added to the disintegration of every royal house and every effective centre, dividing the realm into smaller principalities at each succession.

The collapse of North India, therefore, before Ghūrī and Aibak was due to the irresistible energy which the invaders released ; to the progressive localisation of sentiments in Gūrjaradeśa which had grown apace after the break-up of the First Empire ; to the hopeless disintegration of royal power by polygamy and the distribution of lands among members of the family reducing kingship to a nominal headship of interrelated overlords ; to the unawareness of the Indian statesmen of the day to the condition prevailing and forces operating outside the boundaries of India ; to the failure of the Indians to adjust their refined and humane culture to the needs of a sudden crisis in which unrelenting sternness was needed to match the savagery of the intruding enemy ; and most of all to the educative and cultural organisation of life being divorced from a national centre of political power.

But what was a loss in one sense was a gain on the other. Even when the power of kings was destroyed or diminished, the people could still rescue their life and culture, and reintegrate them with fresh vitality. A culture dependent solely on political power has but a weak reed to lean on.

INDEX

- Abdul Aziz, 50
 Abhimanyu, 143
 Abhiras, 48, 118, 119, 138, 140, 168, 186, 191, 192
 —their dialect, 119
 Abhirokti, 120
 Abiria, 120
 Abu, 1, 4, 14, 17, 62, 79, 81, 83, 113, 114, 119, 121, 125, 127, 136, 138, 142, 145, 154, 155, 159, 189, 190, 196, 204, 207, 216, 217
 —inscription, 16 n, 131, 160, 199, 201, 218
 Abū-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, 126
 Abu-Zaid, 10, 90
 Acāli, 29
 Ācāra, 95
 A-cha-li, 30, 33
 Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja, 121
 Aḍḍaka, 69
Adhikaraṇika, 41
 Adhyakṣapracāra, 93
 Ādinagara, 131
Ādinātha Carita, 167 n
 Ādinatha temple at Abu, 130
Ādityapratāpasiddhānta, 150
 Ādityaśakti, 26.
 Ādivarāha, 64, 74, 75, 87, 89, 103, 143.
 Afghanistan, 11, 37, 132
 Afghans, 140
 Africa, 5, 18
 Agastya, 82.
 Āghāṭa (modern Ahad), 113
 Agnikula, 79
 Agra, 158
 Āhāḍa, 162, 169
 Ahicchatrapura, 16, 17, 21
 Ahilla, 154
 Ahimsā, 194
 Ahmedabad, 2, 30, 77, 157.
 Aibak, 213, 221, 222, 228, 229, 233
 Aihole Inscription, 8
 A'in-i-Akbārī, 225 n
 Ajanta, 29
 Ajayameru (modern Ajmere), 190
 Ajayapāla, 142, 166, 189, 195, 196, 197, 198, 204, 205, 212, 219, 227
 —his Udayapura stone inscription, 196
 —his Unjah inscription, 196
 Ajayarāja, 171, 172
 Ajayavarman, 174
 Ajmere, 17, 133, 171, 191, 197, 199, 204, 205, 207, 221, 230
 Akalavarṣa, 54, 56, 77, 88
 Ākāravanti, 148
 Akkal-kui, 146
 Akruśvara, 33, 53
 Akṣapāṭalika, 41
 Akṣatā, 67
 Alafkhan, 224, 225
 Alakhāna, 11, 85, 86.
 Al-Baihaquī, 135
 Al Baiman, 51
 Al Balādhuri, 51
 Al-Biruni, 13, 40, 86, 130, 134, 141, 163, 180
 Alexander, 5, 18, 58
 Al-Gardizi, 135, 139
 Al-Hakam ibn Awānah, 87
 Alhaṇadeva, 185, 187, 189, 192
 Al-Idrisi, 10
 Āliga, 183, 189
 Alira, 178
Al-Kamil fī'l-Ta'rikh, 135
 Alla, 102
 Allāḍanātha, 150
 Allahabad, 24
 Allāśakti, 26
 Allauddin, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226
 Al-Mahfūzāh, 87, 97
 Al-Manṣūrāh, 87
 Al-Mas-udi, 10, 90, 107
 Alp-tigin, 125
 Al-Utbī, 135
 Alwar, 5, 12, 109
 Āma, 59, 67, 68, 74, 75
Amātyas, 41
 Āmbaḍa, 46
 Āmbāprasāda, 163, 184
 Āmbaṣṭha, 120
 Āmiga, 183
 Amir Khusru, 225
 Amir Rukunadina, 221
 Amitagati, 115, 116
 Amoghavarṣa I, 54, 61, 62, 70, 77, 80, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 104, 105, 112
 —his Sanjan plate, 10.
 Amoghavarṣa II, 54, 108

- Amoghavarṣa III, 54, 103
 Āmrabhaṭa, 190, 195, 196
 Āna, 171, 187
 Āṇahila, 67, 144, 154
 Āṇahilapāṭaka, 191, 217, 219, 221
 Āṇahilapur, 73
 Āṇahilavāḍa, 3, 4, 17, 20, 21, 66, 67, 68, 71, 76, 108, 113, 117, 119, 122, 130, 136, 141, 155, 159, 177, 201, 216, 227
 —its sack, 199
 Ānāka, 171, 172, 209
 Ānala, 146
 Ānand, 25.
 Ānandanagara, 186
 Ānandapura, 2, 21, 25, 29, 30, 32, 37, 102, 112, 162, 185
 Ānandapāla, 140
 Ānanta, 147
 Ānarta, 2, 3, 6, 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 46, 61, 62, 80, 82, 83, 138, 140
 Ānartapura, 32, 33, 80
 Ānāvila Brāhmaṇas, 22 n
 Āndhra, 24, 59, 214
 Āndhrabhṛtyas, 120
 Āṅga, 82, 158
 Āṅklesvar, 33, 53
 Āntarvedī, 21, 83, 104
 Āntroli Charoli grant, 52
 Ānuloma, 36
 Ānūpadeśa, 2, 34
 Ānupamādevī, 201
 Āpabhraṁśa, 48, 69, 74, 99, 100, 114, 119, 120
Āpabhraṁśa Kāryatrayi, 9 n
 Āpara Gāṅgeya, 190
 Āparājita, 132
 Āparānta, 34
 Āppadevī, 64
 Arabs, 27, 50, 51, 53, 56, 58, 59, 66, 69, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 119, 146
 Arab Chroniclers, 97
 Arab invasions, 81, 98
 Arab settlements, 87
 Aranyarāja, 113, 121
 Aravalli hills, 1
 Arbuda, 14, 83
Archaeological survey of West India, 120 n
 Ari Kesari, 132
 Arisimha, 215 n
 Arjuna, 148
 Arjunadeva, 220, 221
 —his Veraval grant, 221
 Arjunadevagrāma, 53
 Arjuna Kārtavīrya, 147
 Arjunavarmā, 200, 210, 211, 213, 214
 Arṇarāja, 187
 Arṇorāja, 166, 171, 172, 179, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 209
 Arthavāda, 93
Arthaśāstra, 44 n, 93, 192 n
 Ārya dharma, 34, 38, 47, 48, 87, 180, 181
 —its social aspect 35 ff
 Āryaka, 148
 Āryans, 35, 47, 232
 —Saptasindhu, 47
 Āryan culture, 31, 34, 35, 39, 47, 98, 180, 232
 Āryo-Dravidian, 7
 Āryan dialect, 48
 Āryāvarta 35, 91, 94, 97, 101, 103, 107, 133, 145, 163, 164, 180, 181, 195, 227, 229
 —its divisions, 82
 Āśā, 157
 Āśādhara, 208
 Āśāpalli, 2, 9, 30, 33, 37, 157
 Āśārāja, 161, 171, 188
 Āsi, 141
Āsūki, 225
 Āślāli, 2, 30, 33, 157
 Āśmaka, 83
 Āśoka, 29, 32, 51, 54, 148
 Assam, 17, 47, 85, 89, 104, 125, 127, 145
 Aṣṭaka, 95
 Āsuka, 162, 169
 Āśvāka, 161, 162, 171
 Āśvamedha, 45
 Āśvapāla, 154
 Āśvarāja, 161, 171, 215
 Aṭāli, 28, 29, 30
Aucityavicāracarcā, 12, 116
 Audicyas, 22
 Augustus, 20, 177
Avalokika, 42
 Āvanijanāśraya, 50, 52
 Āvanti, 2, 23, 34, 56, 58, 77, 78, 90, 100, 147
 Āvantimaṇḍala, 161, 173
 Āvantinātha, 160
 Āvantis, 148
 Āvantisundarī, 98, 99
 Āvantivarman I, 69, 70, 86
 Āvantivarman II, 110
 Āvars, 5
 Āyodhya, 18, 99, 175, 182, 195
 Azamgadh, 8
 Babrias, 140

- Babylon, 88
 Badal inscription, 63
 Bādāmi, 17, 25, 49, 52, 53
 Badayumi, 226
 Baghdad, 90, 107
 Baglana, 225
 Bāhaḍa, 185, 187
 Bahariman, 51
 Bahmānābād, 50
 Bāhukadhavala, 59, 60, 62, 70, 75
 Bāhuloda, 165
 Bainis, 5 n
 Bakulādevī, 155, 167
Bālabhārata, 10 n, 99, 107
 Bālāditya, 8, 30, 46, 51, 102, 103
 Baladhuri, 10, 87
 Bāla Kavi, see Rājaśekhara
 Bāla Mūlarāja, 197, 208, 227
 Balaprasāda, 154
 Bāla Rāmāyana, 99, 100
 Balavarmān, 69, 70, 75, 85, 107
 Balban, 221, 229
 Babra grant, 71
 Balhara, 90, 91
 Bali, 58, 186
 Balirāja, 113, 131, 154
 Balī inscription, 161, 162, 186
 Ballāla, 186, 188, 189, 202
 Ballāla, II 208, 211
 Balotras, 178
 Baluchis, 50
 Bālya Acā, 8
 Bāṇa, 7, 33, 36, 37, 47, 48
 BANERJEE, 59 n
 Banswara, 78, 82, 112, 160
 —grant, 130
 Bappa, 81
 Bārappa, 112, 114, 118, 120, 121
 Barbaraka, 160, 161, 169, 170
 Barbaras, 83, 170 n
 Baroda, 29, 79, 132, 174
 Baroda grant, 71
 Baroda plates, 9, 53 n, 60
 Basil I, 91
 Bauddhas, 67
 Bāuka, 55, 59, 63, 65, 90
 Baulādevī, 155, 166
 Ba'ūrah, 87, 90, 91
 Bazan, 13, 141
 Bedar, 54
 Begumbra plates, 26
 Benares, 21, 57, 82, 83, 100, 101, 125, 128
 Bengal, 21, 23, 49, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65,
 75, 81, 84, 85, 89, 91, 100, 104, 105, 107,
 108, 125, 127, 145, 154, 158, 203, 221, 222
 Bhābha, 122, 155
 Bhadraka, 100
 Bhāgabhadra, 148
 Bhagalpur, 63
 Bhagavata Dharma, 48
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 48
 Bhagavatas, 102
 Bhagavati, 64
 BHAGWANLAL, Dr. 4, 140
 BHANDARKAR, Dr. D. R. 19 n, 53 n
 BHANDARKAR, Sir R. G., 4, 53 n, 144 n
 Bhaṇḍin, 39
 Bhaṇḍis, 56
 Bhānugupta, 23, 24
 Bhānuśakti, 26
 Bharana inscription, 213
 Bharata, 38, 45, 120
 Bhāratavarṣa, 35, 38
 Bharati Bhavan, 146
 Bhāradvāja, 72
 Bhārgavas, 22
 Bhartṛpaṭṭa, 80, 109, 110
 Bhartṛvṛddha, 15, 22, 53, 65
 Bhāsa, 148
 Bhaṭṭa, 41, 107
 Bhaṭṭi, 48
 Bhaṭṭika Devarāja, 55
 Bhaumāditya, 72
 Bhavabhūti, 48, 49, 68
 Bhāva Bṛhaspati, 45, 176, 186, 193, 198
 —his praśasti, 140
 Bhavanāgā, 52, 54
Bhāvaprakāśa, 150
 Bhillama, 198, 205, 208, 214, 225
 Bhillāditya, 8,
 Bhillamāla, 1, 2, 8, 18, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31,
 32, 33, 37, 46, 50, 51, 69, 76, 81, 82, 113,
 169, 175, 216
 Bhillamālikācārya, 18, 32
 Bhilsa, 2, 21, 23, 112, 145, 156, 189, 219,
 222
 Bhīma, 21, 46, 128, 130, 135, 136, 138, 139,
 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 152, 154,
 155, 159, 164, 166, 167, 168, 179, 193,
 200, 208, 230, 231
 —his accession to the throne, 130
 —his death, 155
 —reoccupation of Saurāṣṭra and Kac-
 cha, 130
 Bhīma II, 21, 166, 197, 198, 199, 202, 204,
 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212,
 213, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 227
 —his death, 202, 219
 —his Pāṭaṇa grant, 199

- Bhima II, his stone inscription at Bharana, 200
 Bhimapāla, 202
 Bhimasīmha, 213
 Bhoja Paramāra, 11, 13, 14, 21, 31, 51, 58, 64, 72, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82, 90, 91, 102, 103, 105, 118, 126, 129, 130, 131, 134, 138, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 163, 165, 173, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 193, 203, 213, 218, 227, 228, 231, 233
 —accession to the throne, 129
 —conquest of Kanauj, 130
 —conquest of Koṅkaṇa, 132
 —duration of his reign, 128
 —his Banswara grant, 132
 —his image inscription, 130
 —the Magnificent, 129
 —story about his relations with his uncle, 129
 —Tilakvada grant, 131
 —works attributed to him, 150
 For Bhoja Pratihāra, see Mihira Bhoja.
 Bhoja II, 55, 105, 106
Bhoja Carita, 144
 Bhojapura, 147
 Bhoja Sāgara, 147
 Bhojaśālā, 146, 211
 Bhopal, 61, 147, 198, 208
 Bhṛgukaccha, 2, 8, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 83, 183
 Bhṛvijaya, 8
 Bhūbhāṭa, 67
Bhujabhala, 150
Bhukti, 41
Bhupalapaddhati, 150
Bhūpālasamuccaya, 150
 Bhūpālādevī, 183
 Bhūrja, 99
 Bhūtabhāṣā, 100
 Bhuvāḍa, 17, 66
Bhuvanaakośa, 99
 Bhuvanaikamallā, 204
 Bhuvāḍa, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80
 Bhūyadeva, 72, 73
 Bhūyarāja, 73, 74
 Bhuyikādevī, 55
 Bida, 134
 Bihar, 59, 84, 85, 108, 164
 Bija, 72, 75
 Bijapur, 185
 Bijolia inscription, 16
 Bikaner, 16
 Bilhāṇa, 13, 153, 157, 162
 • Bilvakī, 119
 Bombay, 1, 25, 53
 Bourbons, 219
 Brahmā, 14, 71, 74, 118, 176
 Brahmācāri, 38
 Brahmagupta, 18, 32, 69
 Brahmakṣatra, 19, 78
 Brahmakṣatranvita, 80
 Brāhmaṇas, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 58, 63, 67, 79, 80, 84, 92, 95, 97, 98, 111, 118, 119, 120, 122, 131, 137, 155, 163, 164, 175, 176, 179, 180, 181, 192, 223, 224, 232
 —Audicya, 76
 —corporation of, 36 ff
 —Kanarese, 105
 —kinds of, 38
 —Nāgara, 102, 122, 185
 —Prašnorā, 21
 —Pratihāra, 15, 21
 Brāhmaṇa-Śāhi, 11, 124, 125, 202
 Brāhmaṇavāha, 83
 Brahmanism, 29
 Brahmaśālā, 31
Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta, 32
 Brahmāvaloka, 105, 110
 Brahmāvarta, 97
 Brahmottaka, 82
 Brhaspati, 184
Brhatkathākośa, 10 n
 Broach, 2, 8, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 37, 49, 50, 52, 53, 65, 67, 118, 155, 200, 209, 213, 218, 219
 Budaun, 222
 Buddha, 28, 29, 31
 Buddharāja, 25, 26
 Buddhism, 28, 29, 46, 48, 67, 148, 181
 Buddhists, 14, 27, 28, 48
 Budhagupta, 23, 149
 BÜHLER, 5 n, 129 n, 161
 Bulsar, 2
 Bundelkhand, 3, 5, 21, 29, 81, 82, 174
 BURGESS, 161
 Byzantium, 44, 91, 103, 230, 231
 Caca, 50
 Cācīpidevi, 128
 Caesar, 103
 Cāhaḍa, 184, 187
 Cāhamānas, 14, 16, 17, 19, 37, 53, 63, 64, 65, 72, 78, 79, 82, 88, 98, 105, 108, 110, 112, 113, 118, 121, 122, 131, 135, 144, 156, 158, 161, 164, 171, 185, 187, 188, 189, 196, 197, 199, 200, 203, 205, 206, 207, 215, 216, 221, 224, 227, 228, 229
 —of Dhavalapura, 65

- Cāhamānas of Pratapagadh, 65
 —of Naddūla, 65
 —Northern, 65
 —Southern, 65
 —their connection with the Pratihāras, 15
 Cahila, 157
 Cakradeva, 205
 Cakrakoṭa, 127
 Cakrapālita, 32
 Cakrasvāmin, 133
 Cakravartin, 45, 89
 —concept of, 45
 Cakrāyudha, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62
 Caliph, 49, 50, 87, 125
 Caliph al-Ma'mūn, 86
 Caliph ar-Rashid, 86
 Caliph Omar, 27
 Cālukyās, 4, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 59, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 72, 75, 77, 78, 82, 105, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 119, 120, 122, 126, 128, 130, 131, 132, 144, 146, 147, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 164, 165, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 182, 183, 184, 185, 188, 191, 195, 196, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214, 215, 220, 227, 228, 229
 —their association with the Pratihāras, 17
 —their dynasty, 26
 —founder, 70
 Camba, 144, 145
 Cambay, (Stambhatirtha) 108, 163, 167, 175, 181, 200, 201, 214, 215, 216, 217
Campu Rāmāyana, 151
 Cāmuṇḍa, 21, 68, 71, 118, 122, 128, 135, 142, 164
 —his accession, 129
 Cāṇakya, 39
Cāṇakyanīti, 150
 Cāṇḍālas, 35, 42, 95, 96
 Cāṇḍamahāsena, 65.
 Candella, 11, 81, 105, 109, 111, 112, 114, 124, 133, 135, 141, 146, 152, 154, 164, 174, 188, 204
 Caṇḍa Śarmā, 154
 Caṇḍikā, 31
 Candradeva, 152, 203
 Candraditya, 72, 73, 74, 75
 Candradvīpa, 125
 Candragupta Maurya, 39, 60, 91, 148, 229
 Candraprasāda, 215
 Candrarāja II, 65.
 Candras, 84, 125, 134
 Candrasūri, 13
 Chandrātreyā, 81
 Candrāvati (Abu), 3, 136, 142, 189, 199, 216
 Caṇḍuka, 50, 51
 Cāpas, 5, 18, 32, 66, 69, 82, 107, 108
 Cape Comorin, 61, 125
 Carmaṇvatī, 65
Cārucaryā, 150
 Cāṭa, 41
 Catherine, 125
 Catsu, 60, 63, 81
 Cāturvārṇya, 35, 38
 Caulādevī, 155
 Caulukika, 71
Cauroddharanika, 41
 Cāvḍās 14 n, 18, 19, 20, 66, 68, 71, 73, 75, 77, 110, 117
 —their genealogy, 68
 Cāvotaka, 9, 50, 66, 69
 Cedi, 6, 12, 45, 89, 98, 99, 105, 106, 108, 109, 112, 114, 141, 143, 145, 147, 152, 156
 Central Asia, 126, 133
 —India, 124
 —Provinces, 21, 49, 109, 127
 —region, see Āryāvarta
 Ceylon, 127
 Chambal, 124
Chanda, 59 n
 Chanda district, 127
Chandonuśāsana, 159
 Chandwar, 206
 Ch'ang-an, 28
 Chenab, 11, 86
 China, 28, 87, 88, 90
 Chitor, 3, 50, 81, 108, 141, 173, 174, 185, 188, 224
 Chitor temple inscription, 185
 Chittapa Diveśvara, 150
 Christ, 47.
 Ciklodaramātā, 138
 Citrakūṭa, 3, 60, 144, 183, 191
 Cohada, 186
 Coḷa, 83, 111, 114, 125, 127, 152, 158, 203, 208
 Cūcigadeva, 199, 209
 Cultural tradition, 45
 Cunningham, 5 n, 89 n
 Cutch, 1, 20, 30, 87, 118, 120, 123, 200
 Dabhoi, 24
 Dabhoi inscription, 220
 Dādāka, 162, 172, 179, 183, 188
 Daḍakka, 73, 74, 75

- Dadda I, 8, 24, 25
 Dadda II, 27
 Dāhala, 81, 82, 124, 128, 141
 Dāhira, 50
 Dakṣiṇāpatha, 26, 27, 52, 57, 129
 DALPATRAM, 20
 Dāma, 16
 Daman-Gaṅgā, 1, 4
 Dāmara, 142, 143, 144
 Dambaraśimha, 78, 79
 Damodar, 109, 142, 143, 154
 Daṇḍa, 93, 94
 Daṇḍabhukti, 127
 Daṇḍaka, 72, 73, 75, 83
 Daṇḍanāyaka, 41, 186, 188
Daṇḍapāśika, 41.
 Dandhuka, 121
 Dandidurga, 9, 17, 52, 53, 54, 56, 66, 91
 Daṇḍin, 33, 49
 Daṇḍuka, 74, 75
 Dantivarman, 51, 54, 89
 Darvabhisara, 11
 Daśabala, 150
Daśakumāracarita, 49 n
Daśāparādhas, 42
Daśāparādhika, 42
 Daśapura, 100
Daśarūpa, 116
Daśarūpakāvaloka, 116
 Daśeraka, 83
Ādiyaṇḍaprasiddhānta, 150
 Deccan, 18, 26, 50, 60, 61, 147, 228
 Dehanāgādevi, 55, 105
 Deḷākahāra, 32
 Delhi, 3, 17, 65, 125, 133, 137, 144, 145,
 190, 200, 206, 207, 216, 219, 221, 222,
 223
 Delvada, 136, 138, 201
 Deṇḍavānaka, 10
 Depālpur grant, 130
 Deśabhāṣā, 120
Deśināmamālā, 159
 Devagiri, 198, 208, 214, 219, 221, 222,
 225
 Devaladevi, 99, 166, 225, 226
Devalasmṛti, 97, 98, 140
 Devapāla, 55, 63, 70, 81, 84, 85, 104, 109,
 124, 153, 200, 213, 214, 217, 219
 Devapattana, 73, 75, 200
 Devaprasāda, 160, 166, 167, 168, 182
 Devasūri, 160
 Devarāja, 55, 56
 Dhamañcchā, 156
 • Dhanañjaya, 116
 Dhanapāla, 112, 116, 136, 151, 152
 Dhandhuka, 142, 181
 Dhaṅga, 109, 124, 125, 133, 134
 Dhanika, 116
 Dhārā, 3, 19, 20, 21, 64, 76, 79, 107, 110,
 111, 112, 115, 117, 127, 129, 130, 131,
 136, 142, 144, 146, 147, 149, 152, 153,
 155, 156, 162, 169, 172, 173, 176, 208,
 211, 218, 227, 233.
 Dharampur, 1, 117.
 Dharaṇivarāha, 18, 69, 107, 121.
 Dharasena II, 25, 40.
 Dharasena IV, 30
 Dhārāvarṣa, 86, 88, 89, 159, 199, 204, 207,
 213, 216, 217.
 Dharma, 27, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45,
 46, 48, 92, 95, 97, 98, 101, 103, 155, 163,
 176, 179, 180, 181, 195, 224, 229, 231,
 232.
 Dharmapāla, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 70, 84,
 104, 127.
 Dharmāranya, 193, 223.
Dharmaśāstras, 43, 91, 92, 97, 150, 192.
 Dhavala, 12, 113, 117, 121.
 Dhavalaka, 157.
 Dhavalapura, 65.
 Dholka (Dhavalakapuri), 166, 183, 201,
 213, 214, 216
 Dholpur, 59, 82.
 Dhrangadhra, 184.
 DHRUVA, 41, 162, 184n.
 Dhruva I, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62
 Dhruva II, 84, 89.
 Dhruvabhāṭṭa, 29, 30, 69.
 Dhruvapātu, 67.
 Dhruvasena II, 30, 40, 46.
 Dhūmarāja, 19, 78, 201.
 Diddā, 125.
 Diḡambara, 160.
 Dip (Dvipa), 147.
 Divākaramiśra, 37.
 DIVATIA, 22.
 Diwra, 199
 Dohad (Dadhipadra), 79, 161, 172, 184.
 Dohad inscription, 13, 171.
Drāṅgika, 41
 Draviḍa, 6, 12, 100, 180.
 Drunasa, 118.
 Dubkund, 81, 112, 143, 145.
 Duhika, 98.
 Dundaka, 63.
 Dungarpura, 3, 6, 78, 82, 172, 199
 Durduka, 98.
 Durga, 31.
 Durlabharāja I, 128, 130, 131, 135, 156,
 174.

- Durlabharāja II, 171
 Dūśāla, 113, 158, 171.
Dūhaka, 42, 122.
 Dvārappa, 120.
 Dvarasamudra, 208, 220.
Dvyāśraya mahākāvya, 118, 159, 176, 179, 182.
 Dwarka, 2, 18, 21, 145.

Early history of the Deccan, 144n.
 Eastern Region, see Āryāvarta
 Egypt, 90.
Elliot, 10n, 13n, 49n, 50n, 58, 87n, 120n, 225n.
 Ellora, 56, 60, 62.
 Ellora caves, 53.
 Epithalites yetas, 5.
 Equity, 95.
 Ethnography, 5n.
 Europe, 230.

 Farrūkhī, 135.
 Fatehpur, 107.
 Ferozeshah, 222.
 Firishta, 139, 226.
 Firozpur, 19.
 First Calukyan War, 130
 First Muslim raid, 18.
 Firuz, 222.
 FLEET, 41, 53n.
 FORBES, 4n, 14, 18, 20, 66n.
 France, 229.

 Gāhaḍavālas, 152, 164, 203, 204.
 Gajjanavi, 136.
 Gala, 160, 161.
 Gala inscription, 189.
 Gaṇapati, 222.
Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, 177.
 Gaṇḍaka, 85.
 Gāndhāra, 7, 8, 58.
 Gāṅga, 83.
 Gangaikonda, 127
 Gaṅga kings, 125
 Gaṅgāsāgara, 141.
 Gaṅgavādī, 57.
 Ganges, 57, 85, 106, 137, 141, 191.
 Gaṅgeyadeva, 124, 131, 132, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 152.
 Gāhigila, 162.
 Garuḍarāja, 63, 88.
 Gauḍa, 6, 12, 23, 56, 57, 61, 65, 84, 100, 129, 149, 180.
 Gaurjara Apabhramśa, 22.
Gautamadharmaśūtra, 40n.
 Gaya, 104.
 Gāyatrī, 95
 Ghāghaḍa, 68.
 Ghāgradorabhaga, 130
 Ghantilānā grant, 199
 Ghaṭyālā inscriptions, 66.
 Ghazna, 24, 37, 126, 129, 131, 132, 134, 137, 139, 140, 143, 145, 158, 162, 164, 197, 202, 204, 206, 207, 221, 222
 Ghiyāṣud-Din Maḥammad, 197
 Ghūrī, 197, 198, 204, 205, 206, 217, 228, 229, 230, 233.
 Girijādevī, 185, 192.
 Girinagara, 32, 33.
 Girnār, 24, 29, 32, 41, 70, 112, 119, 168, 215.
 Girnār inscription, 202, 218
 Goa, 157, 197.
 Godāvarī, 21, 26, 112, 144
 Godhra, 79, 218.
 Godrahaka (Godhra), 184.
 Goggala, 132.
 Goggirāja, 120, 121, 127, 132, 152.
 Gonda, 85.
 Gopagiri (Gwalior), 3, 59, 63, 67, 74, 102
 Gopāla I, 49, 84.
 Gopāla II, 104.
 Gorakhpur, 81.
 Govardhana, 106.
 Govinda I, 51, 54, 56, 62, 65, 116, 207.
 Govinda II, 54, 57.
 Govinda III, 54, 60, 61, 62, 80.
 Govinda IV, 54, 108
 Govindacandra, 127, 152, 174, 203, 206
 GRANET, 163.
 Greece, 88.
 Greek, 48.
 Greek colonists, 18.
 Grhagupta, 49.
 Grharipu, 118, 119, 138, 168
 Guḍūci, 100
 Guhila, 80, 81, 107.
 Guhilaputras, 64, 80.
 Guhilot, 60, 63, 80, 81, 82, 103, 109, 110, 112, 113, 122, 213
 Guhram, 206
 Gujarat, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 49, 53, 59, 61, 62, 66, 67, 71, 76, 78, 108, 110, 112, 114, 119, 120, 123, 128, 130, 135, 136, 139, 140, 142, 148, 149, 155, 158, 159, 162, 165, 169, 171, 174, 176, 179, 182, 185, 187, 189, 190, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 200, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221,

- 223, 226, 227, 229
 —its devastation by Subhaṭavarmā, 199
 —its invasion by Muizzud-Din Ghūri, 198
- Gujarāt-sense, 195
 Gujarati modern, 1
 —old, 115
- Gujjara, 6, 15, 18, 19
 Gujjara tribe, 28
 Gujranwala, 4, 5
- Guṇadēva, 185
 Guṇamati, 29
 Guṇāmbodhideva, 81, 107
- Gupta, 23, 24, 39, 40, 42, 45, 48, 102, 120, 149, 194
- Gūrjara, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 42, 43, 50, 51, 53 n, 60, 61, 62, 73, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 99, 102, 107, 109, 111, 124, 126, 134, 149, 167, 195, 196, 208, 210, 227, 228
 —controversy over the word, 1 ff
 —earliest records, 7
 —the theory of the stages of immigration, 4, 17
 —tribe, 14, 15
- Gūrjarabhūmi, 1, 4, 13, 58
- Gurjara Brahma-senani, 163, 188, 189
- Gurjaradeśa, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 114, 116, 117, 120, 122, 125, 129, 135, 136, 138, 142, 143, 145, 147, 149, 153, 156, 158, 159, 164, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 182, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 203, 204, 205, 207, 213, 214, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233
 —its divisions, 2
 —its first empire, 49, 70, 110, 124, 146, 227
 —its second empire, 76, 112, 124, 128, 131, 146, 149, 152, 156, 227
 —its third empire, 66, 156, 159, 227
 —its civic administration, 40
 —its geographical limits, 82
 —its political development, 39
 —its social organisation, 34
 —stages of its political evolution, 227
- Gurgaragadh, 5
- Gurjara Kāvya Saṅgraha, 165 n
- Gurjarakhan, 4, 5
- Gūrjaramaṇḍala, 161
- Gūrjaranīpativamśa, 8, 25
- Gurjaratrā, 1, 5, 8, 10, 62, 63, 66, 82, 89, 108
- Gūvaka, 16, 62, 63, 65
- Gwalior, 3, 81, 107, 110, 112, 143, 145, 152, 171, 186, 196, 197, 202, 219
- Gwalior praśasti, 60, 63, 74, 102
- Haddala grant, 18, 69
- Haidar, 206
- Haihayas, 2, 24, 81
- Hai San, 27
- Hajjāj, 50
- Halāyudha, 19 n, 72, 116
- Hammīra, 124, 134, 226
- Hammīra-mahākāvya, 16, 121 n, 158, 171 n, 207 n
- Hammīramadamardana, 213, 216, 217
- Hammīrarāso, 226
- Hammuka, 142
- Haṁsamārga, 83
- Hansi, 130, 145, 207, 221, 222
- Hansot, 53
- Haradatta, 134
- Harahūva, 83
- Harakeli-nāṭaka, 189
- Haravilāsa, 99
- Haribhadrāsūri, 69, 169
- Haricandra, 7, 8, 15, 16, 24, 25, 30, 31, 36, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 64, 65, 69, 198
- Haripāla, 155
- Harirāja, 206, 207
- Harīścandra, 203, 208, 214
- Harivamśa, 9, 56
- Harjaradeva, 85
- Harṣa, 17 n, 63, 81, 105, 110
- Harṣacarita, 7, 33, 42, 43, 56
- Harsola grant, 19, 76, 77, 78, 110
- Hastāvaprāharāṇi, 32
- Hastikuṇḍi, 12, 113
- Hazara mountains, 5
- Hazaribag, 85, 104
- Heliodorus, 48, 148
- Hemacandra, 16, 20, 72, 99, 114, 118, 119, 120, 122, 128, 136, 141, 143, 150, 157, 159, 166, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 181, 183, 187, 188, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196
- Henry VIII, 230
- Herambapāla, 105
- Himalayas, 5, 14, 35, 61, 63, 89
- Hindi, 178
- Hindustan, 134, 139

- Hindu culture, 7
 Hindus, 139, 141
 Hinduism, 14
 Hishām, 50
History of Bengal, 104 n
History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, 52 n
History of the Solankis, 144 n
 HOERNLE, 4, 19 n
 Hormuja, 221
 Hoshangabad, 208
 Hoysalas, 158, 188, 208, 211, 220
 Hūhuka, 83
 HULTZSCH, 16 n
 Hūnas, 4, 5, 7, 8, 23, 70, 83, 111, 113, 128
 Hyderabad, 54, 56, 87

 Ibnu'l-Athir, 135, 139
 Ibn-Khurdādhā, 10
 Ikṣvāku, 15, 51, 58, 59, 72, 75, 89, 101, 102, 103
 Ilakkhān, 133
 Iltutmish, 200, 201, 202, 218, 219, 222
Imperial History of India, 24 n
 Imperial tradition, 45
 Imran ibn-Mūsa, 87
 India, 23, 27, 28, 34, 37, 38, 44, 47, 48, 50, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 71, 72, 86, 87, 90, 96, 98, 101, 103, 104, 119, 120, 124, 126, 127, 132, 133, 137, 140, 141, 143, 146, 148, 154, 167, 172, 179, 190, 194, 205, 217, 219, 222, 227, 232
Indika, 141
 Indore, 130
 Indra, 17, 52, 54, 58, 107, 109
 Indra III, 54, 77, 80, 89, 105, 106, 107, 108
 Indra IV, 54
 Indraratha, 125, 127, 131
 Indrāyudha, 56, 57
 Indurāja, 24 n
 Indus, 5, 18, 87, 107, 120, 133, 142
 Ingaṇapaṭa (Ingoda), 188
 Iran, 126
 Īśāna, 48
 Īśānavarman, 24
 Iśaṭadevī, 63
 Isham, 50, 58, 88, 90, 97, 125, 197, 222, 231
 Islamic raids, 44
 Ismail, 126
 Īśvarasena, 120

 JACOBI, Hermann, 69 n
 Jackson, 4
 Jadūra, 141
 Jagaddeva, 158
 Jagadekamalla, 125, 188
 Jagattuṅga, 54, 105, 106
 Jahilla, 154
 Jain, 14, 131, 152, 192, 193, 198
 Jainnad inscription, 158
 Jainism, 46, 48, 148, 191, 192, 193, 205
Jain Sāhitya Samśodhaka, 136 n
 Jaipur, 161
 Jaipuri, 22
 Jaitrasīmha, 216
 Jaitugideva, 219
 Jajjapa, 70
 Jambaka, 123
 Jambumālī, 118
 Jambusar, 33
 Jammu, 205
 Janaka Videhi, 39, 151
 Janamejaya, 23
 Janapadas, 33
 Jandrā, 141
 Jaṅgaldēśa, 16, 17, 21, 65
 —its identification, 16
 Japan, 44
 Jasmā Oḍaṇa, 177
 Jatts, 139
 Java, 127
Javāmi-ul'-Hikayat, 178
 Jayabhāṭa, 25, 27, 49, 53
 Jayacandra, 203, 205, 206, 228, 230
 Jayadāman, 16
 Jayadhvaja, 148
 Jayakeśi, 157
 Jayatala, 216
 Jayamaṅgalācārya, 177
 Jayantasīmha, 210, 212, 216
 Jayapāla, 124, 126, 129, 132, 133, 140
 Jayaśakti, 26, 81
 Jayaśekhara, 66, 67, 68
 —historical traditions regarding him, 74
 Jayasīmha Siddharāja, 3, 13, 17, 21, 128, 131, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 183, 185, 187, 188, 191, 193, 200, 201, 205, 211, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 227, 229, 231, 233
 —as a patron of learning, 174
 —as Mahārājādhiraj Paramēśvara, 168
 —accession to the throne, 130, 160

Jābālipura (Jhalor), 3, 9, 53 n, 186, 189, 191

- Jayasirṃha Siddharāja, assumption of the title of Siddharāja, 170
 —conquest of Malwa, 160
 —death, 161, 182
 —inscription at Bhinnamāla, 160
 —inscription at Talwara, 160
 —inscription at Dohad, 161
 —inscription at Gala, 160
 —inscription at Sambhara, 161
 —inscription at Udaipur, 160
 —inscription at Ujjayinī, 161
 —his Kadi grant, 201
 —legend about the conquest of Saurāṣṭra and Rāṇakadevī, 168-169
- Jayasirṃha II, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, 144, 145, 152
- Jayasirṃhasūri, 72, 191, 217 n
- JAYASWAL, 24 n
- Jayatasirṃha, 216
- Jayavarāha, 56
- Jayavarman, 174, 188, 198, 203, 208, 221
- Jehula, 123
- Jejā, 83
- Jejābhukti (Bundelkhand), 3, 29, 81, 82, 111, 124, 141, 203
- Jhalor, 2, 9, 20, 21, 53, 56, 113, 114, 183, 204, 216, 224
- Jhelum, 11, 86
- Jinadattasūri, 13
- Jinaprabha, 68, 136, 223
- Jinasena, 9, 56, 69
- JINAVIJAYAJI, 165 n
- Jiyā-ud-din Barani, 226
- Jñānadeva, 125
- Jodhpur, 2, 3, 8, 10, 24, 76, 82, 122, 185, 186
- Jodhpur inscription, 55, 65
- Joggala, 144, 156, 171
- Juan-Juan, 5
- Jugadeva, 190
- Jullunder, 28
- Jumna, 5, 57, 106, 134, 190
- Junagadh, 32, 33, 169, 186, 189
- Junayd, 50, 69
- Jurz, 10, 51, 87, 88, 90, 91, 107
- Kabul, 17, 85, 86, 89, 202, 228
- Kaccha, 3, 9, 21, 34, 50, 67, 75, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 145, 155, 171, 174, 191, 199, 210
- Kacchapaghātas, 81, 110, 112, 143, 152
- Kacchiya, 83
- *Kādambari*, 33
- Kadi, 122
- Kadi grant, 71, 73, 121 n, 210
- Kadi grant No. 1, 199
 —No. 3, 202
 —No. 6, 201
 —No. 7, 202
 —Nos. 8-9, 202
- Kailāsa, 56, 193
- Kaira, 9, 17, 21, 30, 79, 105, 130
- Kāka, 163, 179, 183, 188, 189, 195
- Kākatiya, 222
- Kakka, 55, 56, 60, 62, 65, 183
- Kakkaka, 186
- Kakkuka, 51, 55, 66, 102
- Kakutstha, 55, 102
- Kāla, 146
- Kālabhoga, 87
- Kalacuri, 2, 24, 25, 26, 81, 112, 114, 124, 128, 131, 134, 143, 145, 146, 154, 156, 158, 164, 174, 203
- Kālāñjara 82, 108, 134, 137
- Kālāñjara maṇḍala, 84.
- Kalaviṇi, 190.
- Kalhana, 86, 186, 202.
- Kālidāsa, 147, 148, 151.
- Kālighāṭa, 111.
- Kaliṅga, 59, 82, 97, 107, 125, 127.
- Kali-Sindhu, 174.
- Kalla, 70.
- Kalpavṛkṣa, 7.
- Kalūta, 83.
- Kalyāṇakaṭaka, 66, 72, 73, 74.
- Kalyāṇapura, 126.
- Kalyāṇi, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 145, 146, 152, 155, 157, 172, 181, 188, 205.
- Kamalādevī, 225, 226.
- Kamalamauli, 146.
- Kāmarūpa, 127, 141.
- Kāmboja, 83.
- Kamkar, 91.
- Kamrej, 33.
- Kanakhala, 199.
- Kanarese, 54.
- Kanauj, 3, 10, 11, 12, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28, 49, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74, 77, 81, 90, 91, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 116, 124, 127, 133, 134, 135, 137, 141, 143, 145, 146, 149, 158, 164, 175, 180, 203, 227, 232, 233.
 —its fall, 130
- Kāncanadevī, 16, 65, 122, 142, 166, 171, 179, 190.
- Kāñci, 26, 37, 56, 57, 60, 83, 180, 183
- Kāñcivayāla, 73, 74, 75, 107.
- Kāñhaḍade, 224

- Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, 223, 224
Kānhaḍadeva, 183.
Kaniṣka, 48, 207
Kaṅka, 111
Kaṇṭikā, 63.
Kanthadurga, 121.
Kanthkot, 138, 139.
Kānyakubja, 2, 3, 5, 11, 20, 22, 58, 67, 72, 73, 74, 76, 82, 83, 176, 227.
Kapadvanj grant, 105, 110.
Kāpāleśvara, 147.
Kapardi, 196.
Kapilakoṭa, 119.
Kapīśa, 28.
Kara, 222.
Karakanṭha, 83.
Karka I, 51, 52, 54, 61, 62, 80, 88, 188.
Karka II, 54, 56, 90, 112
Karmabhūmi, 35.
Karṇa, 3, 21, 143, 144, 145, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168, 171, 173, 177, 183, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227.
Karnal, 65, 85, 104.
Karṇasundari, 157, 162.
Karṇātaka, 52, 56, 60, 61, 65, 70, 76, 78, 80, 84, 85, 88, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114, 123, 124, 125, 127, 144, 153, 157, 220, 232
Karṇātakabhāṣabhūṣaṇa, 106 n
Karṇavati, 30, 157, 216.
Karpūradevī, 190, 204.
Karpūramāṇjarī, 45n, 99, 100, 108.
Kārtikeya, 103, 176.
Kashmir, 5, 11, 12, 28, 37, 47, 84, 86, 89, 104, 125, 133, 147, 176, 180.
Kashmirādevī, 166.
Kāśī, 91, 109, 116.
Kathiawar, 1, 2, 4, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30, 47, 53, 119, 139, 160, 186, 196, 213.
Kaṭudeva, 187.
Kauṭilya, 43, 92, 93.
Kāvera, 83.
Kaveri, 3, 21.
Kavikanṭhābharaṇa, 116.
Kavisikṣā, 177
Kāvyaḥkārasaṁgraha, 24n.
Kāvyaṁimāṁsā, 82, 99.
Kāvyanirṇaya, 116.
Kāvyaṇuśāsana, 31n.
Kāvyaṇprakāśa, 149.
Kāyastha, 122.
Kedāreśvara, 146.
KEILHORN, 59n, 61n.
Kekaya, 83.
Kekkaka, 156, 157.
Kelhaṇa, 188, 198, 204, 205, 207, 208, 215, 217.
KENNEDY, 5n.
Kerala, 83, 107, 126, 128.
Keralas, 107, 114
Kesari, 125, 127, 131
Keśava, 161, 171, 172.
Keśavārka, 150.
Khajurāho, 124, 141, 146.
Khandesh, 26, 52, 53, 76.
Khantas, 140.
Khatib Ali, 178.
Khazaars, 5
Kheda, 2.
Kheḍāvālas, 22.
Kheṅgāra, 155, 160, 169.
Khetaka, 2, 3, 9, 22, 28, 32, 53, 111, 140.
Khetakamaṇḍala, 6, 25, 30, 49, 52, 59, 74, 76, 77, 82, 91, 105, 110, 138, 154, 155, 157.
Khetakapura, 30, 37, 62, 67.
Khijrakhan, 225, 226.
Khilji, 222.
Khorasan, 126
Khoṭṭiga, 111, 112
Khusru Malik Tajud-Daulah, 190, 203, 205.
Kim, 27, 49, 53, 56.
Kincaid, 147.
Kira, 58, 83.
Kiradu, 3, 113, 161, 171, 184, 186, 187, 192, 198, 204
Kirāta, 63.
Kirtikaumudī, 10n, 121, 122.
Kirtipāla, 166, 204
Kirtirāja, 120, 121, 132, 143, 152
Kirtivarman, 25, 52, 53, 56, 154.
Kiṭa, 29, 30.
Kiṭāb-i-yamini, 139.
Kokkala, 82, 89, 105, 106, 108, 124, 125.
Kolhapur, 52
Kolis, 140.
Kollagiri, 83
Konkana, 24, 26, 56, 83, 97, 125, 130, 132, 145, 156, 157, 172, 190, 191
KONOW, 45 n, 53 n, 108 n
KORA, 14 n
Kośala, 52, 82, 127
Kotah, 23, 145, 171
Koṭṭiga, 54
Kubera, 82
'Kucharakudihai', 8
Ku-che-lo, 28
Kukkuka, 10
Kūlacandra, 134, 142

- Kulottūṅga II, 208
 Kulūtas, 107
 Kumāra, 208
 Kumaragupta III, 24
 Kumāranārāyaṇa, 127
 Kumārapāla, 3, 4, 13, 14, 20, 69, 128 n, 163, 166, 167, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 203, 209, 215, 220, 227, 228
 —his accession, 184
 —his death, 195
 —inscription at Gala, 184
 —inscription at Kiradu, 185
 —inscription of Saṁvatsara, 184
Kumārapālacarita, 72, 73, 74, 128 n, 191
Kumārapālārabandha, 72, 73
Kumārapālāpratibodha, 13
 Kumārila, 91
 Kumudacandra, 160
 Kunbi, 33
 Kuntala, 6, 83, 107
Kūrmaśataka, 150
 Kuru, 58
 Kurumaṇḍala, 191
 Kurukṣetra, 120
Kuvalayamālā, 9, 56
 Krathakaisika, 83
 Kṛṣṇa, 56, 125, 145, 189, 219, 220
 Kṛṣṇa I, 53, 54, 56, 57
 Kṛṣṇa II, 54, 84, 89, 105, 106, 110
 Kṛṣṇa III, 12, 54, 76, 77, 108, 109, 110, 111
 Kṛṣṇadeva, 166, 179, 182, 183, 184, 186
 Kṛṣṇāji, 66
 Kṛṣṇarāja, 24, 54, 78, 80, 82, 89, 106
 Kṛta Age, 129
Kṛtasamuccaya, 150
 Kṣatrapas, 16, 24, 32, 33, 41, 120, 148
 Kṣatriyas, 7, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 29, 31, 35, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 76, 84, 91, 92, 93, 95, 97, 163, 179, 180, 181, 218, 223, 232, 233
 —corporation of, 39, 44, 46, 164
 Kṣemarāja, 68, 155, 166
 Kṣemendra, 12, 116
 Kṣetrapālas, 31
 Kṣirasvāmī, 150
 Kṣitipāla, 105
 Lāḍas, 22
 Laghuvṛtti, 24 n
 Lahore, 21, 133, 202, 222
 Lakhārāma, 68
 Lākhā Foolāni, 118, 121 n
 Lakhāka, 119
 Lakṣarāja, 118, 119
 Laksavati, 221
 Lakṣmadeva, 158, 165
 Lakṣmaṇa, 51, 55, 108, 112, 113
 Lakṣmaṇarāja, 109, 124
 Lakṣmi, 31, 116, 220
 Lakṣmidevi, 135
 Lakṣmīkarṇa, 203
 Lakṣmivarman, 174, 208
 Lalitāditya, 86
 Lalliya, 85, 86
 Lama Tārānātha, 84
 Laṅkā, 115
 Lāṭa, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 15, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 60, 62, 67, 73, 77, 78, 80, 84, 88, 89, 100, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 114, 120, 121, 127, 131, 132, 140, 145, 152, 156, 157, 162, 171, 174, 183, 188, 191, 192, 199, 200, 202, 204, 208, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219
 Latur, 54
 Lavaṇaprasāda, 201, 202, 209, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220
 Lāvaṇyasimha, 217
 Lechara, 123
 Lilādevi, 199, 204
 Lilā Vaidya, 167
 Limpāka, 85
 Louis XIV, 230
 Ludrava pass, 138
 Lūla, 122
 Lūnapasūka, 196, 201, 212
 Madana, 211
 Madanabrahmadeva, 198
 Madanapāla, 167, 203
 Madanavarmā, 174, 188
 Mādhava, 109, 110, 122, 150, 155, 179, 184, 189, 224, 226
 —legend about him, 223
 Mādhavi, 72
 Madhupadma, 72
 Madhupaghna, 72
 Madhyadeśa, 21, 58, 82, 83, 86, 100, 114, 141, 158, 164, 194
 Madra, 58
 Madras, 26, 126
 Maga brāhmaṇas, 7, 31
 Magadha, 23, 82, 85, 100, 104, 105, 145, 149
 Māgha, 32, 48
 Magi priests, 7, 31
Mahā-amātya, 43

- Mahābhārata*, 6, 38, 45, 101, 176
 Mahādandāyaka, 41
 Mahādeva, 161, 162, 172, 173, 183, 187, 188, 195
 Mahādevī, 105
 Mahākāleśvara, 72, 80
Mahākālīvijaya, 151
 Mahākosala, 125, 127
 Mahākṣtrapa, 22
 Mahāmāṇḍalikacūḍamaṇi, 77, 110
 Mahāmāṇḍaleśvara, 121
 Mahammad Kasim, 37
Mahammad Nazim, 138 n
 Mahanota Nainasi, 223 n, 226
 Mahapadama Nanda, 45
 Mahārāja, 25
 Mahārājādhirāja, 71, 73, 74, 117, 140, 180
 Mahārājādhirājapati, 77, 110
 Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, 160
 Mahārāṣṭra, 2, 8, 24, 28, 83
Maharṣicarita-praśasti, 13
 Mahāsādhnika, 189
 Mahāsāmanta, 25, 60
 Mahasāmāntādhipati, 69
 Mahattama, 123, 161
 Mahattara, 41
 Mahāvira, 136, 191, 195
 Mahendra, 131, 154
 Mahendrapāla I, 17, 55, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 78, 81, 82, 84, 98, 104, 105, 227
 Mahendrapāla II, 55, 109, 124
 Mahendrayudha, 104
 Maheśvaradāma, 16, 64
 Māheśvaris, 22
 Mahi, 2, 3, 4, 9, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 52, 55, 62, 63, 76, 111, 138, 145, 149, 154, 155, 218
 Mahidevī, 105
 Mahikantha agency, 29
 Mahipa, 150
 Mahipāla I, 11, 45, 55, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 84, 99, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 116, 121, 124, 125, 127, 166, 180, 182, 184, 195
 Māhiśaka, 83
 Mahiṣapāladeva, 104
 Māhiṣmati, 83, 147, 148
 Maḥmūd, 24, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 146, 153, 164, 168, 197, 202, 228
 —his invasions, 132 ff
 Maḥmūd Yamin ud-Daulah, 129
 Mahobaka, 174
 Mahodaya, 74, 99, 101
 Maitraka, 49
 MAJUMDAR, R. C., 4 n, 8 n, 15, 59 n, 104 n
 Makran, 50
 Malabar, 37
 Malada, 82
 Māladeva, 221
 Mālava, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 44, 45, 52, 61, 113, 127, 128, 132, 210, 221
 Mālavi, 22
 Malik Kafur, 225
 Malik Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, 206
 Mallavarttaka, 82
 Mallikārjuna, 46, 190, 191
 Malwa, 7, 9, 12, 20, 22, 24, 29, 30, 37, 50, 53, 59, 61, 62, 72, 76, 80, 82, 88, 89, 91, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 120, 123, 128, 131, 136, 138, 141, 142, 145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 161, 162, 165, 166, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174, 176, 181, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 205, 208, 209, 212, 214, 219, 221, 222, 227, 229, 230
 Mame, 41, 43
 Mammaṭa, 149
Maṇḍala, 41
Maṇḍaleśvara, 41, 43
 Maṇḍali, 122, 212
 Maṇḍalika, 140
 Māṇḍavyapura, 24
 Mandāwar, 201
 Māndhātā, 45, 129
 —grant, 131
 Mandor, 10, 20, 24, 25, 31, 51, 55, 56, 59, 65, 216, 227
 Mandu (Maṇḍapadurga), 147
 Maṅgalarāja, 49, 50, 52
 Maṅgaleśa, 25
 Mangrol, 184
Maṇimekhalai, 8
 Mankir, 90
 Maṅśūra, 87, 139, 140
Mantrabhāṣya, 157
Mantris, 41
Manusmṛti, 35 n, 47 n, 91, 95, 96, 102, 120, 192 n
 Mānyakheṭa, 62, 72, 87, 88, 104, 106, 107, 111, 112, 120, 126, 127, 136, 145, 180, 227
 Māraśawa, 61
 Marcus Aurelius, 151
Mārkaṇḍeypurāṇa, 35 n
 Marriage of the Rākṣasa form, 52
 Maru, 57
 Mārwaḍī, 22

- Marwar, 1, 16, 57, 81, 100, 108, 113, 114,
 161, 171, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189,
 192, 197, 218
 • Masūdī, 87
 Mathanadeva, 5, 12, 109
 —his inscription, 17
 Mathura, 17, 72, 134
 Matsaya, 58, 63
 Maukharis, 25
 Mauryas, 23, 50, 59, 81, 148, 164
 Mayanallādevī, 157, 166
 Medantakapura, 30
 Medapāṭa, 3, 62, 82, 112, 117, 125, 138,
 144, 145, 154, 192, 196, 204, 216, 220,
 229
 Medatā, 30
 Medhātithi, 35 n, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96
 —on danḍa, 94
 —on definition of Āryāvarta, 96
 —on elements of a stable government,
 93
 —on foreign invasion, 92
 —on position of woman, 96
 —on sources of dharma, 95
 —on sovereignty, 92
 —on varṇāśramadharma, 95
 —on warfare, 92
 Meerut, 207, 221
 Megasthenes, 42
 Meghadūta, 148 n
 Meghanāda temple, 198
 MEHTA N. C., 8 n
 Mekalas, 107
 Mekran, 229
 Mer, 70, 140
 Meru, 71, 106
 Merutuṅga, 66, 67, 68, 73, 74, 80, 114,
 121, 128, 129, 136, 137, 144, 151, 155, 157,
 162, 165 n, 167, 173, 175, 182, 184, 190,
 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 210, 221, 223
 Mewar, 80, 114, 117, 141, 173
 Mihira Bhoja, 3, 10, 11, 16, 17, 55, 59 n
 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76,
 78, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,
 91, 92, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104,
 105, 107, 117, 145, 146, 153, 163, 164,
 171, 177, 180, 194, 195, 227, 229, 231
 —accession to the throne, 63
 —coins, 89
 —confusion with Bhoja Paramara, 64
 —Daulatpur plate of, 66
 —death of, 89
 —expeditions of, 84
 —feudatories of, 65
 —the greatest of Imperial Gurjaras, 64
 —Gwalior praśasti of, 10, 101
 —Struggle with Pāla kings, 84
 Mihiragula, 149
 Mihirakula, 25
 Minaḷadevi, 157, 159, 162, 165, 167
 Mir, 70
 Miratī-i-Ahmadi, 225 n
 Mir'atū'z-Zamān fī Tawarikhil-'Ā'yān, 135
 Mithilā, 37
 Mlecchadeśa, 97
 Mlecchanitā, 97
 Mlecchas, 35, 51, 65, 91, 96, 97, 98, 119,
 120, 141, 163, 178, 190, 213, 222
 Modasa, 77, 111
 Moḍha Banias, 22
 —Brāhmaṇas, 21
 Modherā, 21, 59, 138, 193
 Moḍherā Ardhāṣṭama, 122
 Moghuls, 222
 Mo-ha-la-cha, 27
 Mohammed, 229
 Mohodaya, 109
 Mo-lo-po, 29
 Monghyr, 59, 65, 125
 —Copper plate, 63
 Mongolia, 85
 Mychakaṭika, 148
 Mr̥ṇālavatī, 114, 115
 Mubarak, 226
 Mudgagiri, 60, 65
 Mudgara, 82
 Mudrita Kumuda Candra, 13, 176 n
 Mughal, 140
 Muhammad 'Awfi, 178
 Muhammad Ibn Qāsim, 50
 MUIR, WILLIAM, 87 n
 Muizzud-Din Muḥammad, 197, 198, 199,
 204, 205
 Mūladevasvāmī, 122
 Mūlarāja, 3, 4, 11, 12, 17, 20, 21, 71, 72,
 73, 75, 76, 108, 109, 113, 114, 117, 118,
 119, 120, 121, 123, 131, 138, 142, 155,
 156, 158, 159, 164, 168, 169, 171, 179,
 182, 185, 191, 197, 212, 213, 214, 220
 —epigraphic evidence about him, 71
 —founder of Čālukya dynasty, 3
 —his battle with Dvārappa, 120
 —his conquest of Gṛharipu, 118 ff
 —his death, 122, 129
 —his successors, 128
 Mūlasthāna (Multān), 191
 Mūleśvara, 122
 Multan, 63, 87, 90, 107, 125, 138, 139, 140,
 141, 191, 197, 204, 221, 222
 Mundaka grant, 130

- Mundher, 138
Munisuvratasvāmicarita, 13
 Muñja Vākpati I, 12, 21, 70, 72, 78, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 132, 136, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 153, 173, 218, 227
 —as a poet and patron of poets, 116
 —his death, 129
 Munja Vākpati II, 19, 76, 79, 121
 Muñjala, 44, 72, 73, 74, 75, 157, 162, 172, 173
Muñjarāsā, 114, 115
Muñjaprabandha, 114
 Muñjapur, 117
 Muñjasāgara, 117
 Murala, 107, 127
 Muśangi, 127
 Murlidhar temple inscription, 223 n
Murat-i-Ahmadi, 223 n
 Muslim, 53, 87, 97, 107, 137, 141, 206
 —chronicles, 128, 135, 136, 157, 138
 —chroniclers, 86, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 204, 222, 225
 Mysore, 126
 Naddūla, 3, 65, 108, 112, 113, 125, 131, 135, 138, 144, 145, 154, 156, 171, 172, 185, 186, 187, 189, 192, 198, 204, 205, 207, 215, 216, 217
 Nadol, 185, 186
 Nāgabhaṭa I, 9, 15, 30, 31, 51, 52, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 80, 81, 87, 102, 145, 146, 149, 179, 227, 229
 Nāgabhaṭa II, 10, 16, 55, 59, 60, 62, 65, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 80, 81, 84, 85, 102, 145, 163, 182, 194, 227
 Nāgaḍa, 219, 220
 Nāgadraha (Nagada), 216
 Nāghrada, 81
 Nāgarāja, 135
 Nagarkot, 133
 Nāgas, 25, 127
 Nāgasarikā Viṣaya, 156
 Nāgavaloka, 53
 Nagpur, 5
 Nagpur praśasti, 153
 Nahrwala, 178
 Nāikadevi, 197
 Nakuliśa, 193
 Nalakantha, 168
 Nālandā, 28, 37
 Nālatadāga (Nar), 130
Nalodaya, 151
 Nāmamālīka, 150
 Nāna, 207
 Nandā, 134
 Nandas, 23
 Nandipura, 25
 Nandipuri, 26, 189
 Nandeval, 25
 Nannarāja, 54
 Napoleon, 179
Naranāyaṇānanda, 218
 Nārāyaṇa, 13, 14, 51
 Nārāyaṇapāla, 63, 84, 85, 104
 Narasimha, 12, 106, 111, 188, 220
 Naravāhana, 155
 Naravarmaṇ, 160, 165, 166, 168, 172
 Narmadā, 4, 5, 9, 21, 25, 28, 33, 47, 53, 61, 78, 80, 83, 88, 89, 106, 111, 114, 117, 145, 147, 197, 214
 Nasik, 2, 17, 28, 37, 52, 120, 132
 Nāśikya, 83
 Navasāhasāṅka, 127
Navasāhasāṅkacarita, 14, 79, 111, 116, 127, 149
 Navasarikā, 33
 Navsari, 9, 33, 50, 52, 105, 156
 Navsari grant of Pulakeśi III, 18
 Nayacandra, 16, 121 n, 171
 Nazimud-Din, 219
 Neḍha, 157
Nemināthacariu, 69
 Nepal, 82, 85, 86
 Nepalese terrain, 104
 Nestor, 183
 Nikumbha, 26
 Nimar, 156
 Nimbārka, 120
 Ninnaya, 123
 Nirbhayarāja, 105
 Nirgamas, 33
 Nirihullaka, 24, 25
 Nirupama, 54
 Niskramaṇa, 95
 Nizam-ud-Din, 139
 Noradina Piroja, 221
 Northern Region see Āryāvarta
 Nusrat Khān, 223
 Nyāyapadra (Napat), 130
 O-cha-li, 30
 OJHĀ, 4, 16, 144 n, 172 n, 226
 Omkar-Mandhata, 117
 Orissa, 59, 84, 104, 107, 125, 127, 131, 145
 Orissa records, 85
 Ośvālas, 22, 46, 169
 Oudh, 222
 Oxs, 133

- Padmagupta, 14, 15, 19, 79, 113, 115, 116,
 127, 149
 Padmanābha, 223, 224
 Padmarāja, 147
 Padmāvati, 160
 Paisāca, 99
 Pañyālacchi, 112, 116, 129 n, 136
 Pākayajña, 95
 Pāla, 49, 70, 84, 104, 108, 125
 Pālanpur, 138, 196
 Pālī inscription, 185
 Pāllavas, 26, 57, 83
 Pāmpa, 106
 Pāmpa-bhārata, 106
 Pāncāla, 58, 100, 101, 168
 Pāncanadādhipa, 191
 Pāncāsara, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71
 Pāncatantra, 9
 Pāñcāyata, 41
 Pānchamahā, 30
 Pāṇḍya, 83
 Paramabhaṭṭāraka, 140, 156
 Paramadeva, 136, 139, 140
 — his identification, 139, 140
 Paramāra, 3, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 37,
 64, 67, 70, 72, 76, 78, 79, 80, 82, 89,
 105, 106, 108, 110, 112, 117, 119, 121,
 122, 124, 125, 127, 136, 140, 142, 149,
 153, 161, 165, 176, 177, 184, 186, 189,
 190, 196, 198, 199, 201, 213, 220, 227, 228
 — the theory of foreign origin of, 18
 Paramāradeva, 140
 Paramardī, 172, 181, 197, 203
 Paramārhat, 191, 193
 Pārameśvara, 56
 Parāśara, 176
 Paraśurāma, 23, 34, 45, 80
 Pārījātaṃjari, 143 n, 211
 Parihāra, 14, 15
 PARIKH, 31 n
 Parimāla, 116
 Pāriyātrā, 100
 Parkar, 1
 Parnadatta, 32
 Pārśvanātha, 186
 Partabgarī, 88
 — inscriptions 109
 Pārtha, 61
 Parva Parvata, 210, 211
 Pāśupata cult, 48, 76, 176
 Pāṭaliputra, 23, 91, 148, 227, 232
 — its empire, 23
 Pāṭana, 2, 12, 13, 20, 42, 69, 73, 117, 122,
 128, 131, 135, 138, 139, 142, 152, 154,
 155, 158, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169,
 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 181, 182,
 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 194,
 195, 197, 198, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210,
 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220,
 221, 222, 228, 230, 231, 233
 — its sack in 1027 A.C., 142
 — inscription, 198
 Pāṭanarāyaṇa temple praśasti, 19 n
 Patañjali, 120
 Pathāri, 61
 Pavagadh, 210
 Payoṣṇī, 108
 Pehova, 83, 85
 — inscription, 101
 Periplus, 120
 Persia, 7
 Peshawar, 5
 PETERSON, 13 n
 Piṅgala, 116
 Piṅgalasūtravṛtti, 19 n
 Piṅgalikā, 170
 Po-lo-ki-she, 27
 Porvādas, 22, 46, 123, 169
 Poona, 52
 Portugal, 229
 Prabala, 61
 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, 66, 68, 71, 112, 114,
 119, 152, 191, 223
 Prabandhakośa, 16, 215 n
 Prabandhas, 20, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73, 87, 118,
 120, 127, 128, 137, 142, 155, 157, 159,
 166, 172, 174, 176, 184, 189, 191, 192,
 193, 195, 197, 198, 205, 215, 219
 Prabhākaraṇavardhana, 7, 25, 227
 Prabhākaraḥaṭṭa, 102
 Prabhāsa Pāṭana, 64, 119, 122, 138, 186,
 193, 200, 224
 Probhāvakacarita, 32, 63, 68, 164
 Prabhutavarṣa, 57
 Pracāṇḍa, 105, 110
 Pracāṇḍapāṇḍava, 99, 107
 Prachi, 186
 — inscription, 186
 Prācīnalekhamālā, 42 n
 Practice of Sati, 96
 Pradyotas, 23, 148
 Prāgyyotiṣa, 82, 85
 Prāgvātās, 123
 Prahādānadeva, 159, 196, 199
 Prahādāpur (Palanpur), 159
 Prajāpati, 24
 Prakāśanagarī, 191
 Prakaraṇasāradhā, 95
 Prakṛta, 99, 100, 101, 150
 Prantij, 77

- Prasādhānādevi, 51, 109
 Pratapagadha, 65, 82
 Pratapamalla, 194, 219
 Pratāpasinha, 185
 Pratihāras, 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16,
 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24 n, 43, 50, 51, 55,
 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 75,
 78, 79, 80, 82, 86, 87, 89, 110, 119, 143,
 146, 164, 168, 171, 180, 197, 227, 228
 —their epigraphic records, 15
 —theory of their foreign origin, 15
Pratisaraka, 41
 Pratiṣṭhānaviśaya, 3
 Pravaraśena's Copper plate, 41
Prāyaścītavivēka, 150
 Premaladevi, 166, 183
 Pritikūta, 36
 Prthu, 102
 Prthūdaka (Pehova), 3, 65, 101
 Prthivibhaṭa, 190
Prthvicandracarita, 193
 Prthvipāla, 69, 156, 158
 Prthvirāja, 166, 171, 190, 199, 204, 205,
 207, 208, 228, 229, 230
Prthvirājaviṇaya, 16, 171
 Prthvivallabha, 77, 112
 Prthvivyaṅghra, 49
 Ptolemy, 170 n
 Pulakeṣi I, 9, 17, 25, 26, 27, 50, 52, 69
 Pulakeṣi II, 8, 17, 26, 29, 30, 45, 49
 Pūnapākṣadeva, 185, 192
 Puṇḍra, 82
 Punjab, 3, 5, 11, 17, 28, 58, 65, 70, 85, 86,
 89, 101, 104, 107, 133, 134, 135, 137,
 143, 163, 164, 191, 221
Purāṇas, 6, 33, 38, 40, 101
 Puranic tradition, 103
 Purāṇikas, 38, 99
 Puri, 190
 Purification, 97
Purohita, 41
Purāṇanāprabhandhasaṁgraha, 68
Purātattva, 225 n
 Pūrṇabhadra, 13
 Pūrṇapāla, 121
Pūrtamārtanḍa, 150
 Puṣpabhūti, 164
 Pusyagupta, 52
 Radhanpur plates, 80
 Radhanpur grant 61 n, 130
 Rāghavadeva, 86
 Rāghavas, 182
 Raghunandana, 150
Raghuvamśa, 136
 Rāhaḍa, 68
 Rāhappa, 56
 Rahma, 91
 Raid of the Turks, 198
 Rai Hariścandra, 49
 Rājādhirāja, 185
 Rājakesari, 125
Rājamārtanḍa, 150
Rājamṛgāṅka, 150
Rājānīli, 150
 Rajara inscription, 12
 Rājārāja Coḷa, 125, 126, 144, 145
 Rājasekhara, 10, 45, 82, 98, 100, 101, 104,
 105, 108, 141, 170 n
 —his works, 99
 Rājashahi, 85, 104
Rājatarāṅgini, 149, 202
 Rājauri, 141
 Rājendra, 111, 126, 127, 129, 131, 132
 Rājī, 24, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 108
 Rajapipla hills, 61
 Rajputana, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 18, 20, 22,
 30, 70, 109, 120, 140, 148, 174, 188, 227
 Rajputs, 7, 140, 224
 Rājyapāla, 55, 104, 124, 134, 157, 183,
 185, 187, 189
 Rā Kheṅgāra, 168
 Rāma, 72, 99, 175, 176
 Rāmabhadra, 55, 63, 66, 74, 75, 84, 102
 Rāmacandra, 51, 55, 195, 221, 222
 Rāmādevi, 202
 Rāmāpāla, 158
Rāmāyana, 45, 101
 Ramaṭha, 83, 107
 Rāmeśvara, 47, 146
 Ramgaya, 85
 Rāṇakadevi, 169
 Rāṇasūra, 127
 Rā Navaghana, 168
 Rander, 224
 Rannādevi, 61
 Ranthambor, 201, 206, 207, 221, 226
Rāsamālā, 4 n, 20, 66 n, 122 n, 169 n
 Rāstrakūṭa, 3, 9, 17, 19, 51, 53 n, 56, 57,
 58, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 70, 75, 76, 77,
 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 88, 89, 105, 106, 107,
 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 124, 125, 181,
 227

Qasida, 135, 138

Qutb-ud-Din, 199, 200, 207, 217

Raddhada, 187

Rādha, 127, 202

- Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors—their pedigree, 54
 —their connection with the Paramāras, 19
- Ratanapala, 200, 209
- Ratanpur, 185
- Ratbils, 86
- Rathika, 51, 54
- Raṭlam, 79
- Ratnāditya, 68
- Ratnamālā*, 66, 71, 73
- Ratnavardhana, 86
- Ratnāvali, 129
- Raṭṭapāḍi, 111, 112, 126
- Rāvaṇa, 99, 115, 129
- Ravi, 86
- RAY, 134 n
- REU, 52 n, 53 n
- Revā, 52
- Revātīrtha, 191
- Rhumi, 90
- RICE, Lewis, 106 n
- Richelieu Cardinal, 230
- Rohilladhi, 24
- Rome, 103, 213
- ROSS, 204 n, 225 n
- Rudra, 146, 182
- Rudrabhūti Ābhira, 120
- Rudradāman, 22, 24, 40, 41
- Rudradeva, 222
- Rudrāditya, 114, 115
- Rudramahālaya, 122, 174, 178
- Rudramahākāla, 180
- Rudrammādevī, 222
- Rugviniścaya*, 150
- Ruhmi, 91
- Rupam*, 146 n
- Rūpasundarī, 66
- Russia, 125
- Rustom, 206
- Sabarmati, 2, 30, 33, 80, 138, 216
- Sabdānuśāsana*, 150
- Sabuk-tigīn, 126
 —his war against the Brāhmaṇa-Sāhis, 129
- Sādha, 144
- Sāgara, 126
- Saha Hussain, 147
- Sahajārāma, 72, 73, 74
- Sarajiga, 184
- Sahanyā, 141
- Saharanpur, 5
- Sahasraliṅga lake, 161, 174, 175, 176, 177
- Sahasrārjuna, 22, 23, 148
- Sāhi, 37, 85, 86, 132, 133, 135
- Saikh Hamid Lodi, 125
- Saindhava, 9, 50
- Saivism, 48, 76, 191
- Saivites, 48
- Sajjana, 168, 179, 183, 187, 188, 195
- Saka, 72, 83
- Sākambharī, (Sambhar), 3, 16, 62, 63, 65, 82, 108, 109, 112, 118, 121, 123, 125, 138, 144, 145, 156, 158, 162, 164, 166, 171, 172, 179, 185, 186, 189
- Sakalavindhyādhipati, 49
- Śaktikumāra, 113
- Śakuntala*, 192 n
- Salakhaṇasimha, 220
- Sālavāhana, 144
- Śālihotra*, 150
- Śālipura, 188
- Salya, 98
- Sāmala, 183
- Samanaid, 125
- Sāmanta, 16, 86
- Sāmantasena, 202
- Sāmantasimha, 73, 196, 204
- Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhārā*, 150
- Samarasimha, 204, 224
- Sambhara, 16, 17, 21, 121, 161, 171, 172, 182, 227
- Sārṇhitās, 95
- Samiddheśvara, 185, 188
- Sampatkara, 158
- Saṁskāras, 96
- Saṁskṛta, 34, 37, 48, 99, 100, 101, 120, 150
- Samudgrāhaka*, 41
- Samudragupta, 43, 120
- Saṁyuktanikāya*, 192 n
- Sanatkumāracaritam*, 69 n
- Sandira, 146
- Sandhivigrahikas, 38, 41, 122
- Saṅghapāla, 127
- Saṅgītaprakāśa*, 150
- Saṅgrāmasimha, 24, 200, 214
- Sanjan plate, 57, 61, 89
- Saṅkara, 37, 51
- Saṅkaragaṇa, 24, 25, 60, 62, 63, 81
- Saṅkaravarman, 11, 86, 104
- Saṅkha, 171, 200, 214, 215, 217
- Saṅkhadvāra, 18
- Sankheda, 131
- Sannyāsī, 38
- Śāntisūri, 155, 193
- Śāntū, 157, 162, 165, 166, 169
- Śāntyācārya, 155
- Sapādalakṣa, 3, 5, 16, 65, 171, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 208, 229, 230

- Sāraṅgadeva, 221, 222
 Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas, 21
 Sārasvatamaṇḍala, 3, 11, 12, 21, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 82, 108, 114, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 128, 135, 155, 157
 Sarasvatī, 2, 3, 21, 33, 62, 71, 76, 82, 108, 110, 112, 113, 115, 117, 159, 168, 174, 175
Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa, 13, 150
 Sarbhon, 33, 61
 Śarva, 61
 Śarvadeva, 183
 Sarvakalā, 211
 Sarvavarman, 24
 Śaśiprabhā, 127
Śāstras, 40, 116, 192, 223
 SASTRI, D. K., 66 n
Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, 39
 Satara, 52
 Śātavahanas, 164
 Satrap, 77
 Satraśālās, 176
 Satruñjaya, 175, 215
Satyāśraya Akalaṅka Carita, 125
 Setyapura (Sachora), 136, 155, 216
 — maṇḍala, 3, 11, 21, 82, 122, 123, 128, 135, 140
Saulkika, 41, 72, 73
 Śaurāṣṭra, 2, 3, 6, 9, 17, 21, 22, 29, 30, 32, 34, 46, 50, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 84, 90, 97, 100, 107, 108, 109, 110, 118, 119, 120, 123, 125, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 142, 145, 155, 160, 161, 165, 168, 169, 171, 174, 183, 187, 189, 191, 192, 199, 200, 201, 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 224, 228
 Sauryas, 56
 Sāyaṇa, 150
 Scythians, 18, 48
 Second Cālukyan War, 130
 Seleucides, 91
 Sendrakas, 206
 Sevalik, 5, 16n
 Shahbud-din, 226
 Shekavat, 140
 Shihāb-ud-Din, 197, 208
 Sialkot, 205, 221
 Sibṭ Ibnu'l Jawzī, 135
 Siddha Cakravartī, 160
Siddhahema, 20n, 159, 182
Siddhāntasārapaddhati, 150
 Siddhapura, 33, 117, 170, 174, 178
 Siddharāja, 44, 45, 160, 162, 168, 169, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 194, 195, 196, 198, 204, 207, 209, 214, 215, 218, 228
 — Abhinava, 212
 Siddharṣi, 169
 Sihūn, 139
 Silāditya, 27, 29, 30, 49
 Silaṅṇasūri, 67
 Śilāhāras, 125, 132, 190, 214
 Śilāvati, 98
Silsilātū-e-Tawārikh, 90
 Śiluku, 50, 55, 131, 132
Simākarmakūra, 41
 Simha, 204, 209, 213
 Simhadantabhaṭṭa, 110
 Simhala, 83
 Simhapura (Sihor), 33, 125, 175
 Simharāja, 110, 171
 Simha Samhvatsara, 160, 168
 Simhavikrama, 72
 Sind, 1, 21, 37, 50, 53, 58, 59, 63, 69, 86, 87, 97, 107, 119, 125, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145, 221, 228
 — Sauvira, 97
 Sindān, 87
 Sindhu, 59, 141, 191
 Sindhurāja, 7, 14, 70, 79, 119, 127, 128, 129, 131, 156, 145, 149, 161, 171, 200, 214, 217
 Singhapa, 200, 202, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220
 Sitrā, 172
 Sirohi, 1, 2, 32
 Sistan, 126
 Śisunāgas, 23
Śiśupālavadha, 32
 Sitā, 79, 80, 99
 Śiva, 36, 48, 56, 59, 118, 122, 123, 133, 146, 176, 187, 192, 193
 Śivarāja, 122
 Śivaśāna, 142
Śivatattvaratnakalikā, 150
 Siyaka I, 12, 79, 80, 89, 106n, 213, 227
 Siyaka II, 76, 77, 78, 79, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117, 118, 136, 149
 Skandagupta, 32, 229
Skandapurāṇa, 70, 193
 SMITH, 4, 14, 18, 59n, 74, 89n
Smṛtis, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 94, 95, 97, 99, 164, 176, 192
 Śobhila, 113
 Socotra, 5, 18
 Sohaḍa, 199, 209, 210
 Sola, 122, 155
 Solankis, 18, 66, 157
 Scma, 155, 176, 177, 209
 Somāditya, 72, 73, 75

- Somanātha, 73, 75, 119, 122, 136, 138, 139,
 140, 146, 155, 165, 176, 178, 179, 192,
 193, 198, 221, 224, 231
 — its invasion by Maḥmūd, 130, 135,
 137, 138
 — Muslim chronicles upon its invasion,
 135
 — reconstruction of its temple by Bhoja
 and Bhima, 130
 Somaprabha, 13, 183
 Somarājadeva, 209
 Somasirṃha, 201, 213, 216
 Someśvara, 10, 13, 121, 122, 125, 131, 136,
 144, 145, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 166,
 171, 179, 184, 186, 187, 190, 191, 193,
 196, 204, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220
 Soṇa, 85, 124
 Sorathiyas, 22
 South-Lo-Lo, 29
 Southern region, see Āryāvarta
 Spain, 229
 Speech of the people, 100
 Śrāvakadharmā, 192
 Śrāvastī bhukti, 85
 — maṇḍala, 86
 Śribhavana, 33, 61
 Sricanḍa Śarmā, 142
 Śrīdhara, 210, 213
 — praśasti at Verāval, 200
 Śrī Dhika, 70
 Śrī Harṣa, 7, 8, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 36,
 37, 39, 40, 46, 47, 56, 61, 89, 91, 179, 180
 Śrījaya, 122
 Śrī Mādhavi, 118
 Śrīmāla, 1, 7, 17, 20, 21, 22, 26, 30, 31, 32,
 53, 58, 76, 136, 169, 183, 227
 Śrīmāla-purāṇa, 31
 Śrīmālis, 21, 22
 Śrīpāla, 176, 177, 185
 Śrīvallabha, 56, 60, 112
 Śṛṅgāramaṇjari, 151
 Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, 150
 Śrotriya, 39
 Stambha, 54, 60
 Stambhatīrtha, 183
 STEIN, 86n, 147
 Sthalimaṇḍala, 130
 Stīramati, 29
 Stone inscription of Nāna, 201
 Stravaṇi, 50
 Subhāṣitaprabandha, 150
 Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha, 115, 116
 Subhaṭa, 209
 Subhaṭavarmā, 199, 200, 209, 210, 211, 213,
 214
 Succhika, 162
 Sudarśana lake, 41
 Sudāsa, 39
 Sūdhā, 209
 Sudhavā, 190
 Sūdraka, 148
 Sūdras, 12, 95, 97
 — corporation of, 47
 Suhadevi, 183
 Suhma, 82
 Suhuda, 83
 SUKTHANKAR, 53n
 Śuklatīrtha, 128
 Sukṛtasamkīrtana, 215 n
 Sukṛtakīrtikalloṇi, 217n
 Sulaiman, 10, 87, 90, 91, 158
 Śūlapāṇa, 150
 Sumatra, 127
 Sumras, 125
 Sundahill inscription of Caciga, 16n
 Sundaridevi, 59
 Suṅga, 23, 148
 Sun temple, 31, 109
 Surācārya, 135
 Surānanda, 98
 Sūrapāla, 67, 104
 Surāṣṭra, 33, 83
 Surat, 3, 22n, 30, 49, 224
 Surathotsava, 13, 208n
 Sūrpāraka, 83
 Sūrya, 64, 176, 182
 Sutlej, 190
 Suvṛttatilaka, 116
 Śvabhra, 33
 Śvabhramati, 33
 Svetāmbaras, 20, 160, 169, 181
 Tabara-Hind, 208
 Tāḍi, 99
 Tāfan, 90, 91
 Tāfar-u-Walīk, 225n
 Tailappa II, 72, 111, 112, 114, 115, 118,
 120, 123, 125, 144
 Ṭakkaland, 11, 86, 100
 Tālā, 31, 50, 99
 Tāljaṅghas, 2
 Talwara, 160
 Tāmalīptaka, 82
 Tamil Nāḍ, 17
 Tamim, 50
 Taṅgana Tuṣāra, 83
 Tanjore, 125, 126, 129, 145
 Taṅka, 53
 Tapti, 26, 56, 88, 218

- Tarala, 98
 Tarāori, 199, 206, 228, 229
Tārīkh-i-Alaī, 223n
Tārīkh-i-Baihaqīmī, 135
Tārīkh-i-Firīshṭa, 223n
Tārīkh-i-Sorāṭh, 140
Tārīkh-i-Tiruzshahī, 223n
Tattvaprakāśa, 150
Tazī-tul Amasir, 223n
 Tejakas, 9
 Tejahpāla, 200, 201, 202, 205, 209, 215,
 217, 218, 219
 — his death, 202, 219
 — his thirty-two Neminath temple inscriptions, 201
 Tejasimha, 220
 Thābu, 199, 209
 Thakkaiya, 11, 104
 Thana, 27, 49, 175, 190
 Thanēsvara, 25, 130, 133, 145, 227
 Thar, 1
 Theodosius III, 229
 Theory of fire-pit origin, 14
 Thermopylae, 27
 Third Cālukyan War, 131
 Thirty Years' War, 80, 230
 Tibet, 84
Tilakamañjarī, 116, 151
 Timana grant, 199
 Tirhuta, 85
Tīrthakalpataru, 223
 Todd, 18, 161
 Tomaras, 17, 65
 Toramāṇa, 23, 149, 207
 Tosala, 82
 Trailokyamalla, 125, 157
 Transoxiana, 229
 Travaṇa, 83, 100
 Trayambaka, 71
 Tribhuvanapāla, 157, 219
 Trikūṭaka, 83
 Trilocanapāla, 55, 120, 121, 133, 134, 152
 Tripurī, 81, 113, 131, 141, 143, 146, 152,
 190
 T'sin, 27
 Tuṅgabhadra, 125, 145
 Turks, 133, 137, 138, 140, 176
 Tūruṣka, 62, 63, 83, 119, 191, 198, 208, 213
 Udaipur (Udayapura), 113, 117, 162, 169,
 186, 188, 189, 196
 — inscription, 193
 — praśasti, 14, 127, 140, 145, 152, 154
 Udayāditya, 153, 154, 155, 156
 Udayamatī, 155, 166, 167
 Udayana, 163, 167, 179, 181, 182, 183, 187,
 189, 190, 195, 220
 Udayasimha, 216
 Udayavarmā, 208
 Udbhāṇḍapura, 86
 Udbhaṭa, 24n
Udrāṅga, 41
 Udyotanasūri, 9, 56, 169
 Ujjayinī, 2, 6, 9, 17, 20, 21, 24, 29, 30, 36,
 37, 50, 51, 52, 53, 58, 72, 76, 77, 80, 81,
 83, 89, 106, 109, 110, 111, 116, 117, 127,
 147, 148, 149, 155, 158, 161, 172, 175,
 183, 219, 231
 — as a home of art and culture, 148
 — grant, 130
 Ujjayant hill, 29
 Ulughkhān, 223, 225, 226, 231
 Umar, 49
 Una, 155
 Unjah, 196
Upaṇiṣads, 95
Uparikara, 41, 42
 Upendra, 78, 79, 80, 106
 Urch, 197, 204
 Usman, 49
 Utbi, 133
 Utkala, 82
 Utpala, 86, 112, 113, 116, 121
 Utsāha, 176
 Uvāṭa, 151
 Uzain, 51
 Vācaspati Miśra, 37
 Vaḍasara, 173
 Vadhiar, 117
 Vadnagar, 2, 21, 29, 33, 65, 80, 111, 122,
 162
 — praśasti, 14, 69, 128, 185
 Vāgaḍa, 5, 78, 80, 111, 125, 127, 204
 Vāgbhaṭa, 177, 183, 189
Vāgbhaṭāṭamkāra, 173n, 177
 Vāghelās, 46, 198, 209
 Vāhlika, 83
 VAIDYA, 4
 Vaijaka, 185
 Vaijjaladeva, 183, 186, 187, 195, 197
 Vailabhaṭa, 63, 102
 Vairisimha I, 68, 78, 79, 80
 Vairisimha II, 77, 79, 110
 Vaiṣṇavas, 48
 Vaiśvadeva, 95
 Vaiśyas, 12, 21, 22, 46, 76, 84, 95, 97, 163,
 179, 192, 232
 — corporation of, 46
Vājasaneyī saṁhitā, 151

- Vajrātasvāmi, 77, 79, 110
 Vākāṭaka, 41
 Vākpatirāja, 14, 65, 68, 77, 78, 79, 89, 101, 112, 115, 116, 127
 Vala, 29
 Valabhī, 2, 9, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 37, 40, 46, 49, 50, 52, 67, 87
 —its destruction, 56
 Valabhipura, 29
 Valabhis, 120
 Valhava, 83
 Vallabha, 52, 88, 89
 Vallabharāja, 21, 88, 91, 128, 131
 Vallamaṇḍala, 50
 Vallara, 83
 Vāmanasthali, 119
 Vāṇājuya, 83
 Vanapāla, 70, 85
 Vānaprastha, 38
 Vanarāja, 18, 20, 67, 68, 69, 71, 77, 110, 117, 123
 — historical traditions about him, 74
 Vānavasaka, 83
 Vanavasi, 126, 156
 Vaṅga, 56, 60, 97
 Vantideva, 202
 Vapanadeva, 184
 — his Dohad inscription, 161
 Vappaiyarāja, 77, 79
 Varāha, 56, 89
 Varanāga, 162
 Vārāṇasī, 82, 83, 147, 176, 206, 231
 Vardhamānapuri (Wadhwan), 82, 188
 Vardhamānasūri, 177
 Varmalāta, 32
 Varman, 125
 Varṇas, 22
 Varṇāśramadharma, 7, 35, 39, 45, 46, 47, 91, 93, 96, 97, 179, 229
 Vartmapālas, 41
 Varuṇāśramaka grant, 71, 73
 Vasantgadh, 32
 — inscription, 121
 Vāsavadattā, 148
 Vasiṣṭha, 14, 39
 Vastupāla, 46, 149, 171, 200, 201, 205, 209, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219
 Vāsudeva, 16, 65
 Vaṭapadraka (Baroda), 130, 132
 Vātāpi, 17, 25, 26, 227, 232
 Vaṭeśvara, 142, 154, 156, 157
 Vatsarāja, 10, 21, 53n, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 69, 80, 87, 102, 120, 145, 148
 Vāyupurāṇa, 23n, 33n, 35n
 Vedagarbharāṣi, 212, 219
 Vedas, 38, 40, 95, 223
 Vedic forms, 48
 Veṅgī, 26, 56, 59, 60
 Verāvala, 30, 37, 186, 198, 200
 Vetāla, 170
 Vicāraśreṇī, 223n
 Vidarbha (Berar), 49, 53, 83
 Viddhaśālabhaṇḍikā, 99, 100
 Videha, 82
 Vidiśā (Bhilsa), 148
 Vidyādhara, 130, 134, 155, 137, 152
 Vidyāvinoda, 151
 Vighrahapāla I, 84, 85, 104, 105
 Vighrahapāla III, 154
 Vighrarāja, 118, 121, 123, 158, 190, 191, 197
 Vijaya, 189, 203
 Vijayacandra, 203
 Vijayapāla, 55, 109, 133, 188
 Vijayaśakti, 81
 Vijayasena, 203
 Vijayaśrī, 200, 211, 212
 Vijñāneśvara, 91, 150, 151
 Vikrama, 67, 195
 Vikramāditya, 124, 144, 147, 148, 156, 170, 175, 181
 — II, 52
 — V, 113, 125
 — VI, 172
 Vikramāṅka, 69
 Vikramāṅkadevacarita, 13n
 Vikramārjunavijaya, 106
 Vikramasīmha, 189
 Vimala, 123, 130, 136, 142, 154, 157
 Vinayacandra, 170n
 Vināyaka, 150
 Vināyakapāla, 105, 108, 109
 Vināyakapāla II, 55
 Vindhyas, 25, 35, 49, 59, 61, 63, 127, 191
 Vindhyavarmā, 198, 199, 208, 209
 Vīra, 123, 142
 Viradhavala, 198, 200, 201, 202, 209, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219
 Vīrama, 212
 Viramgaum, 166
 Viryavarmā, 144
 Viśadha, 70
 Viśaladeva, 189, 202, 219, 220
 Viśaya, 41
 Viśayapati, 41, 43
 Viṣṇu, 31, 51, 52, 58, 71, 102, 103, 118, 121, 160, 176, 182
 Viṣṇupurāṇa, 38, 120
 Viṣṇuvarman, 26
 Viśrāntavidyāvinoda, 150

- Viśvāmitra*, 14, 35, 95, 212
Vividhatīrthakalpa, 68, 136
 Vokkaṇa, 83
 'Vola', 209
 Vṛddhipathaka (Vadhiar), 212
 Vyāghramukha, 18, 32, 69
 Vyāghrapalli, 209
 Vyāghrarāja, 171
 Vyalakāñci, 72, 73, 74
Vyavahārasamuccaya, 150

 Wadhel, 140
 Wadhwan, 3, 9, 18, 69, 71, 73, 74, 107, 108, 109, 168, 169, 175, 215
 Wani grant, 61n
 Warangal, 222
 WATSON, 18
 Western Rājasthāni, 22
 Western Region, see Āryāvarta
 World War II, 230

 Yādavas, 125, 148, 198, 204, 208, 222
 Yadu, 58, 79
 Yājñavalkya, 39
Yājñavalkya-smṛti, 47n, 91, 192n
Yajurveda, 151
 Yakṣa, 31
 Yaksakūpa, 31
 Yaminis, 145, 146, 190, 191, 202, 203, 204, 205, 228, 229

 Yaśahkarma, 154, 158, 174
 Yaśahpaṭaka, 173
 Yaśahpāla, 13, 143
 Yaśaścandra, 176n
 Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, 24
 Yaśodhavalā, 186, 189, 190
 Yaśovarman, 11, 44, 45, 49, 59, 68, 111, 131, 132, 165n, 172, 173, 174, 188, 198, 203, 208
 Yaugandharāyaṇa, 162
 Yavana, 58, 83
 Yayātinagara (modern Jainagar), 125, 127, 131
 Yāyāvara, 98
 Yoga, 69
 Yogarāja, 68, 77, 110, 111
Yogasārasaṃgraha, 150
Yogasūtra, 39 n
 Yuan Chwang, 2, 8, 15, 17, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 45, 50, 82, 91, 149
 — his records, 28
 Yudhiṣṭhira, 129
 Yüe-chis, 48
Yuktikalpataru, 150
 Yuvarāja I, 45, 108, 109
 Yuvarāja II, 112, 124

Zaḥar ul-Wālih, 204
Zainul Akhbār, 135, 139

APPENDIX A(1)

JODHPUR INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHARA BAUKA, VS. 894

(J. R. A. S., 1894, pp. 4-9).

TEXT.

ॐ नमो विष्णवे ।

यस्मिन्विशन्ति भूतानि यतस्सर्गस्थिती मते । स वः पायाद्धृषीकेशो निर्युगस्सगुणश्च यः ॥ १ ॥
गुणा पूर्वपुरुषाणां कीर्त्यन्ते तेन पण्डितैः । गुणकीर्तिरनन्यन्ती स्वर्गवासकरी यतः ॥ २ ॥
अतः श्रीबाउको धीमान् स्वप्रतीहारवंशजान् । प्रशस्तौ लेखयामास श्रीयशोविक्रमान्वितान् ॥ ३ ॥
स्वभ्रात्रा रामभद्रस्य प्रातिहार्यं कृतं यतः । श्रीप्रतिहारवंशोयमतश्चोन्नतिमानुयात् ॥ ४ ॥
विप्रः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया । ताभ्यां तु ये सुता जाताः प्रतिहाराश्च तान् विदुः ॥ ५ ॥
बभूव रोहिलद्वयङ्को वेदशास्त्रार्थपारगः । द्विजः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्यः प्रजापतिसमो गुरुः ॥ ६ ॥
तेन श्रीहरिचन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा । द्वितीया क्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुलगुणान्विता ॥ ७ ॥
प्रतीहारा द्विजा भूता ब्राह्मण्यां येऽभवन् सुताः । राज्ञी भद्रा च यान् सूते ते भूता मधुपायिनः ॥ ८ ॥
चत्वारश्चात्मजास्तस्यां जाता भूधरणक्षमाः । श्रीमान् भोगभटः कको रजिलो दद एव च ॥ ९ ॥
माण्डव्यपुरदुर्गेऽस्मिन्नेभिर्निजभुजाजिते । प्राकारः कारितस्तुङ्गो विद्विषां भीतिवर्धनः ॥ १० ॥
अमीषां रजिलज्जातः श्रीमान्नरभटः सुतः । पेल्लपेल्लीति नामाभूद् द्वितीयं तस्य विक्रमैः ॥ ११ ॥
तस्मान्नरभटाज्जातः श्रीमान्नागभटः सुतः । राजधानी स्थिरा यस्य मद्भन्तकं पुरम् ॥ १२ ॥
राश्यां श्रीज्जिकादेव्यास्ततो जातौ महागुणौ । द्वौ सुतौ तात-भोजाख्यौ सोदर्यौ रिपुमर्दनौ ॥ १३ ॥
तातेन तेन लोकस्य विद्युच्चंचलजीवितम् । बुध्वा राज्यं लघोभ्रातुः श्रीभोजस्य समर्पितम् ॥ १४ ॥
स्वयं च संस्थितस्तातः शुद्धं धर्मं समाचरन् । माण्डव्यस्याश्रमे पुण्ये नदीनिर्झरशोभिते ॥ १५ ॥
श्रीयशोवर्धनस्तस्मात्पुत्रो विख्यातपौरुषः । भूतो निजभुजख्यातिः समस्तोद्धतकण्ठकः ॥ १६ ॥
तस्माच्च चन्दुकः श्रीमान् पुत्रोऽभूत् पृथुविक्रमः । तेजस्वी त्यागशीलश्च विद्विषां युधि दुर्दरः ॥ १७ ॥
ततः श्रीशिलुको जातः पुत्रो दुर्वारविक्रमः । येन सीमा कृता नित्या खवणी-वृद्धदेशयोः ॥ १८ ॥
भट्टिकदेवराजं यो वल्लमण्डलपालकम् । निपात्य तत्क्षणं भूमौ प्राप्तवांसछत्रचिह्नकम् ॥ १९ ॥
पुष्करिणी कारिता येन त्रेतातीर्थं च पत्तनम् । सिद्धेश्वरो महादेवः कारितस्तुङ्गमंदिरः ॥ २० ॥
ततः श्रीशिलुकाज्जातः श्रीमान् झोटो वरः सुतः । येन राज्यमुखं भुङ्क्त्वा भागीरथ्यां कृता गतिः ॥ २१ ॥
बभूव सत्यवान् तस्माद्विज्जदित्यस्तपोमतिः । यूना राज्यं कृतं येन पुनः पुत्राय दत्तवान् ॥ २२ ॥
गङ्गाद्वारं ततो गत्वा वर्षाण्यष्टादश स्थितः । अन्ते चानशनं कृत्वा स्वर्गलोकं समागतः ॥ २३ ॥
ततोऽपि श्रियुतः कक्कः पुत्रो जातो महामतिः । यशो मुद्गगिरौ लब्धं येन गौडैः समं रणे ॥ २४ ॥
ततो व्याकरणं तर्को ज्योतिःशास्त्रं कलान्वितं । सर्वभाषाकवित्वञ्च विज्ञातं सुविक्षणम् ॥ २५ ॥
भट्टिवंशविशुद्ध्यां तदस्मात्कक्कभूपतेः । श्रीमत्पद्मिन्यां महाराश्यां जातः श्रीबाउकः सुतः ॥ २६ ॥ इति
नन्दावहं प्रहत्वा रिपुबलमतुलं भूअकूपप्रयातं दृष्ट्वा भग्नं स्वपक्षां द्विजपुत्रकुलजां सत्प्रतीहारभूषाम् ।
धिम्भूतैकेन तस्मिन् प्रकटितयशसा श्रीमता बाउकेन स्फूर्जेन हत्वा मयूरं तदनु नरमृगा घातिता हेतिनैव ॥ २७ ॥
कस्यान्यस्य प्रभग्नः ससचिवमनुजं त्यज्य राण सुतत्रः केनैकेनातिभीते दशदिशि तु बले स्तम्भ्यचात्मानमेकम् ।
धैर्यानुक्त्वाश्चष्टुष्टं क्षितिगतचरणेनासिहस्तेन शत्रुं छित्त्वा भित्त्वा श्मशानं कृतमतिभयदं बाउकान्येन तस्मिन् ॥ २८ ॥
नवमण्डलनवनिचये भग्ने हत्वा मयूरमतिगहने । तदनु हतासितरंगा श्रीमद्बाउकश्रुसिधेन ॥ २९ ॥

साक्षाद्दैः प्रगल्भिरन्तसुषिरैर्बाह्वोरुपादाङ्गैरन्त्रैश्चोपरि लम्बितैर्विरचितं शवगृहं फेत्कारसत्त्वाकुलम् ।
 यच्छ्रीबाउकमण्डलाग्रचितं प्राकृशत्रुसंघाकुले तत्संस्पृत्य न कस्य सम्प्रति भवेत्त्रासोद्गमश्चेतसि ॥ ३० ॥
 ननु समरधरायां बाउके नृत्यमाने शवतनुशकलान्त्रेष्वेव विन्यस्तपादे ।
 शममिव हि गतास्ते तिष्ठ तिष्ठेति गीताङ्गयगतवृकुरंगश्चित्रमेतत्तदासीत् ॥ ३१ ॥
 संवत् ४ चैत्रसुदि ५ ॥
 उत्कीर्णां च हेमकारविष्णुरविसूनुना कृष्णेश्वरेण ॥

APPENDIX A(2)

GHATĪYĀLA INSCRIPTION NO. 1 of PRATIHĀRA KAKKUKA, V.S. 918.
 (E. I. IX, pp. 279-81)

No. I

ओं विनायकाय नमः । आसीत्प्रतिहारवंशगुरुसद्विजः श्रीहरिश्चन्द्रः । अनेन राज्ञी क्षत्रियभद्राया जातः
 श्रीमान्सुतः श्रीरज्जिलः । अस्माच्छ्रीनरभटः । अतः श्री नागभटः । अतः श्री तातः । अतोऽपि श्री यशोवर्धनः ।
 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्दुकः । अतश्च श्रीशीलुकः । अस्माच्छ्री झोटः । अतः श्रीभिन्नादित्यः । अतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः ।
 अनेन राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यासुतो जातः श्रीकक्कुकः ।
 सन्तः कुटुम्बकं यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः । विपुला चपलं बुद्धिराग्रहो गुणसंग्रहे ॥ १ ॥
 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कोपो रागोऽपि जनपालने । गुरुभ्यश्च भयं यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षणम् ॥ २ ॥
 येन प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रयव्यां वल्लमाडयोः । आर्येषु गूर्जरत्रायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ ३ ॥
 तेन मङ्गोदरे स्तम्भस्तथा रोहिन्सके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीतौ स्वपक्षाविव जन्तौ ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीमत्कक्कुकीरेण कुलदीपेन धीमता । अयमुत्तम्भितस्तम्भो यशस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ ५ ॥
 संवत् ९१८ चैत्रसुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अत्र हृष्टो महाजनश्च स्थापितः ॥
 ओं यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मथ्यं च वयः प्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ ६ ॥
 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्कुकेन स्वयं कृतः ॥

No. II

ओं सिद्धिः ।

दिवा रात्रौ च संध्यायां.....संकुले । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तम्भधामा विनायकः ॥ १ ॥
 रोहिन्सकूपकप्रामः पूर्वमासीदनाश्रयः । असेव्यः साधुलोकानां आभीरजनदारुणः ॥ २ ॥
 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं हृष्टं कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रवणिगप्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्रेण सप्रतीहारजातिना । कक्कुकेन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोऽत्र महाजनः ॥ ४ ॥
 महाजनस्य सद्बुद्धिः स्यात्प्रभः पूजा सुखं मृतिः । श्रीकक्कुकस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ ५ ॥
 संवत् शते ९१८ चैत्र सुदि २ लिखितं मगेन मातुरविणा उत्कीर्णं हेमकारेण कृष्णेश्वरेण ॥ सूत्रधारोत्र न०-
 विष्णुः ॥

No. III

श्रीमत्कक्कुकीरेण कुलदीपेन धीमता । अयमुत्तम्भितस्तम्भो यशस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥

No. IV

ओं वल्लकी काकली गीतं शरच्चन्द्रश्च मालती । विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी कक्कुकस्य प्रियाणि षट् ॥ १ ॥
 न्यायमार्गो गुरोर्भक्तिः पुत्रे स्नेहः कृतज्ञता । प्रिया वाग्नागरो वेषः कक्कुकस्य प्रियाणि षट् ॥ २ ॥

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(J. R. A. S. 1895, pp. 513-521)

ओं

सग्गापवग्गममं पढमं सयलण कारणं देवं ॥ णीसेसदुरिअदलणं परमगुहं नमह जिणणाहं ॥ १ ॥
 रहुतिलओ पडिहारो आसी सिरिलक्खणो त्ति रामस्स । तेण पडिहारवन्तो समुण्हं एत्थ सम्पत्तो ॥ २ ॥
 विप्रो सिरि हरिअन्दो भज्जा आसि त्ति खत्तिआ भद्दा । ताण सुओ उप्पणो वीरो सिरि रज्जिलो एत्थ ॥ ३ ॥
 अस्स वि णरुभडणामो जाओ सिरिणाहडो त्ति एअस्स । अस्स वि तणओ ताओ तस्स वि जसबद्धणो जाओ ॥ ४ ॥
 अस्स वि चन्दुअणामा उप्पणो सिल्लओ वि एअस्स । झोडोत्ति तस्स तणओ अस्स वि सिरि भिल्लुओ चाई ॥ ५ ॥
 सिरिभिल्लुअस्स तणओ सिरिकक्को गुरुणुणेहि गारविओ । अस्स वि कक्कुअणामो दुल्लहदेवीए उप्पणो ॥ ६ ॥
 ईसिविआसं हसिअं महुरं भणिअं पलोइअं सोमं । ण मयं जस्स ण दीणं रोसो थेओ थिरा मेत्ती ॥ ७ ॥
 णो जम्पिअं ण हसिअं ण कथं ण पलोइअं ण सम्मरिअं । ण थिअं ण परिच्चमिअं जेण जणे कज्ज परिहीणं ॥ ८ ॥
 सुत्था दुत्था वि पया अहमा तह उत्तिमा वि सोक्खेण । जणणिज्ज जेण धरिआ णिच्चं णिमण्डले सव्वा ॥ ९ ॥
 उअ रोसराअ मच्छर लोहेहि मिणाय वज्जियं जेण । ण कओ दोव्ह विसेसो ववहारे को वि मणयम्पि ॥ १० ॥
 दिअवरदीणाणुजं जेण जणं रज्जिऊण सयलम्पि । णिमच्छरेण जणिअं दुहाण वि दण्डणिट्ठवणं ॥ ११ ॥
 धणरिद्धसमिद्धाण वि पऊराणं णिअकरस्स अन्भहिअं । लक्खं सयध सरिसत्तणव्व तह जेण दिग्गाई ॥ १२ ॥
 णवजोवणरूअपसाहिएण सिङ्गारगुणगरुक्केण । जणवयणिज्जमलंजं जेण जणे णेय सञ्चरिअं ॥ १३ ॥
 बाल्लण गुरुतरुणाण तह सही गयवयाण तणओ व्व । इय सुचरिएहि णिच्चं जेण जणो पालिओ सव्वो ॥ १४ ॥
 जेण णमन्तेण सया सम्माणं गुणधुइं कुणन्तेण । जम्पन्तेण य ललिअं दिण्णं पणइणं धणणिवहं ॥ १५ ॥
 मरुमाडवल्लतमणी-परिअङ्गाअज्जगुजरत्तासु । जणिओ जेण जणाणं सच्चरिअणुणेहि अणुराओ ॥ १६ ॥
 गहिऊण गोहणाइं गिरिम्मि जालाउलाओ पल्लीओ । जणिआओ जेण विसमे वडणाणयमण्डले पयडं ॥ १७ ॥
 णीलुप्पलदलान्धा रम्मा मायन्दमहूअविन्देहि । वरइक्खुपण्णच्छण्णा एसा भूमिकया जेण ॥ १८ ॥
 वरिससएसु अ णवसुं अट्ठारसमग्गलेसु चेत्तम्मि । णक्खत्ते वि ऊ हत्थे वुहवारे धवलवीआए ॥ १९ ॥
 सिरिककुएण हदं महाजणं विप्पसयइवणिबहुलं । रोहिन्सकूअगामे णिवेसिअं कित्तिविदीए ॥ २० ॥
 मङ्गोअरम्मि एक्को वीओ रोहिन्सकूअगामम्मि । जेण जसस्स वा पुज्जा एए थम्मा समुत्थविआ ॥ २१ ॥
 तेण सिरिककुएणं जिणस्स देवस्स दुरिअणिदलणं । कारविअं अचलमिमं भवणं भत्तिए सुहजणयं ॥ २२ ॥
 अण्णिअमेअं भवणं सिद्धस्स धणेसरस्स गच्छम्मि । तह सन्त जम्ब अम्बयवणि भाउडपसुहगोद्दीए ॥ २३ ॥

आच्ये जन्म कुले कलङ्करहितं रूपं नवं यौवनम् ।

सौभाग्यं गुणभावना शुचि मनः क्षान्तिर्यशो नम्रता ॥

TRANSLATION.

1. Om ! Bow to the lord of the Jinās, who is the path to heaven and beatitude, the god who is the first cause of all things, the destroyer of even sin, the supreme preceptor !
2. The glorious Lakṣamaṇa, the ornament of the Raghus, was Rāma's door-keeper. (Paḍihāra) ; hence the Pratihāra Clan has attained here to eminence.
3. There was a Brāhmaṇa named Haricandra ; his wife was Bhadrā, of the Kṣatriya caste. To them a valiant son was born Rajjila.
4. To him, again, Narabhaṭa was born, and to him, Nāgabhaṭa ; his son was Tāta, and his son Yaśovardhana.
5. To him chanduka was born, and to him Silluka ; his son was Jhoṭa, and his the generous Bhilluka.
6. Bhilluka's son was Kakka, highly esteemed for his noble qualities ; and to him was born from Durlabhadevi, Kakkuka.—

7. His smile is (like a) slightly opening (flower-bud), his speech sweet, his glance benign, his meekness not timid, his anger slight, his friendship firm.
8. He never has spoken, or smiled, or acted, or looked or remembered a thing, or stood still, or roamed about, without benefiting mankind.
9. Like a mother, he constantly has kept in comfort all the people in his dominion, the poor and the prosperous, the lowest as well as the highest.
10. And never has he, departing from what was right, through favour, affection, envy or greed, made the slightest difference between the parties in any transaction.
11. Acting on the advice of the best of the twice-born, he has pleased everybody and has, free from passion, also inflicted punishment on the wicked.
12. Even to citizens possessed of abundance of wealth he has assigned more than his revenue (?), a lac, and a hundred, and as much as was suitable (?).
13. Though decorated with the freshness of youth, and of beauty, and full of the sentiment of love, he has never behaved to people so as to incur the reproach of men, without modesty.
14. To children like a father, to young men like a friend, and to the aged like a son, he by such good conduct of his has constantly fostered everybody.
15. Ever civil, showing respect and praising excellence, and speaking pleasantly, he has given plenty of wealth to those attached to him.
16. By his excellent behaviour and qualities he has won the love of the people in Maru-māḍa, (?), Valla, Tamaṇi, and Gujarāt (?)
17. He has taken away the herds of cattles and has afterwards boldly destroyed by fire the villages on the hill in the inaccessible Vāṭanānaka district.
18. (But) this land he has made fragrant with the leaves of blue lotuses, and pleasant with groups of mango and madhuka trees, and has covered it with the leaves of excellent sugar-cane.
- 19-20. And when nine-hundred years were increased by the eighteenth, in Chaitra, when the moon's Nakṣatra was Hasta, on wednesday, the second lunar day of the bright half, the illustrious Kakkuka, for the increase of his fame, founded a market fit for traders, crowded with Brāhmaṇās, soldiers and merchants, at the village of Rohinsakūpa.
21. He has erected like heaps of his renown, the two pillars here, one at Maḍḍoara, and another at the village of Rohinsakūpa.
22. This illustrious Kakkuka piously has caused to be built the temple of the god Jina, which destroys sin and creates happiness.
23. And he has entrusted this temple to the community presided over by the ascetic Jāmbava, and Āmraka, and the merchant Bhākuṭa, in the gachha of the holy Dhaneśvara.

APPENDIX B

GWALIOR PRAŚASTI OF MIHIRA BHOJA

(A. S. I. 1903-4, p. 280 ; E. I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 107-114)

ॐ नमो विष्णवे

शेषाहितपधवलाधरभागभासिवक्षःस्थलोलसितकौस्तुभकान्तिशोणम् ।

श्यामं वपुः शशिविरोचनबिम्बचुम्बि व्योमप्रकाशमवतान्नरकद्विषो वः ॥ १ ॥

आत्मारामफलादुपाज्यं विजरं देवेन दैत्यद्विषा ज्योतिर्बीजमकृत्रिमे गुणवति क्षेत्रे यदुप्तं पुरा ।

श्रेयः कन्दवपुस्ततःसमभवद्वास्वानतश्चापरे मन्विक्ष्वाकुकुत्स्थमूलपृथवः क्षमापालकल्पद्रुमाः ॥ २ ॥

तेषां वंशे सुजन्मा कमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु घोरम् ,

रामः पौलस्त्यहिंभ्रं क्षतविहति समित्कर्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।

श्लाघ्यस्तस्यानुजोऽसौ मघवमुदमुषो मेघनादस्य संख्ये,
 सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्डः प्रतिहरणविधेयः प्रतीहार आसीत् ॥ ३ ॥
 तद्वशे प्रतिहारकेतनभृति त्रैलोक्यरक्षास्पदे देवो नागभटः पुरातनमुनेर्मूर्तिर्बभूवाद्भुतम् ।
 येनासौ सुकृतप्रमाथिबलनम्लेच्छाधिपाक्षौहिणीः क्षुन्दानस्फुरदुग्रहेतिहचरिदोभिश्चतुर्भिर्बभौ ॥ ४ ॥
 प्रातुस्तस्यात्मजोऽभूत् कलितकुलयशाः ख्यातकाकुत्स्थनामा लोके गीतः प्रतीकप्रियवचनतया कक्कुः
 क्षमाभृदीशः । श्रीमानस्यानुजन्मा कुलिशधरधुरासुद्वहन्देवराजो यन्ने च्छिन्नोरुपक्षक्षपितगतं कुलं भूभृतां संनियन्ता ॥ ५ ॥
 तस्मिन् प्राप्य राज्यं निजमुदयगिरिस्पर्धि भास्वत्प्रतापः क्षमापालः प्रादुरासीन्नतसकलजगद्वत्सलो वत्सराजः ।
 गत्यैतास्सम्पदश्च द्विरदमदसुरास्वादसन्ध्रप्रमोदाः पद्माक्षीराक्षिपन्त्यः प्रणयिजनपरिष्वङ्गाकान्ता विरेजुः ॥ ६ ॥
 म्याताद् भण्डिकुलान्मदोत्कटकरिप्राकारदुर्लङ्घतो यः साम्राज्यमधिज्यकाशुकसखा संख्ये हटादग्रहीत् ।
 एकः क्षत्रियपुङ्गवेषु च यशो गुर्वी धुरं प्रोद्वहन्निश्वाकोः कुलमुन्नतं सुचरितैश्चक्रे स्वनामाङ्कितम् ॥ ७ ॥
 आद्यः पुमान् पुनरपि स्फुटकीर्तिरस्माज्जातः स एव किल नागभटस्तदाख्यः ।
 यत्रान्ध्रसैन्धवविदर्भकलिङ्गभूपैः कौमारधामनि पतङ्गसमैरपाति ॥ ८ ॥
 त्रयास्पदस्य सुकृतस्य समृद्धिमिच्छुः यः क्षत्रधामविधिबद्धबलिप्रबन्धः ।
 जित्वा पराश्रयकृतस्फुटनीचभावं चकायुधं विनयनप्रवपुर्व्यराजत् ॥ ९ ॥
 दुर्वारैरिवरवारणवाजिवारयानौघसंघटनघोरघनान्धकारम् ॥
 निर्जित्य वज्रपतिमाविरभूद्विष्वानुद्यन्निव त्रिजगदेकविकासको यः ॥ १० ॥
 आनर्तमालवकिराततुरुष्कवत्समस्त्यादिराजगिरिदुर्गहटापहारैः ।
 यस्यात्मावैभवमतीन्द्रियमाकुमारमाविर्बभूव भुवि विश्वजनीनवृत्तेः ॥ ११ ॥
 तज्जन्मा रामनामा प्रवरहरिबलन्यस्तभूमृत्प्रबन्धैराबध्नन्वाहिनीनां प्रसभमधिपतीनुद्धतकूरसत्त्वान् ।
 पापाचारान्तरायप्रमथनरुचिरः सन्नतः कीर्तिदारैश्चाता धर्मस्य तैस्तैस्समुचितचरितैः पूर्ववन्निर्बभासे ॥ १२ ॥
 अनन्यसाधनाधीनप्रतापाकान्तदिङ्मुखः । उपायैस्सम्पदां स्वामी यः सत्रीडमुपास्यत ॥ १३ ॥
 अर्थिर्विनिनियुक्तानां सम्पदां जन्म केवलम् । यस्याभूत् कृतिनः प्रीत्यै नात्मेच्छविनियोगतः ॥ १४ ॥
 जगद्विद्वष्टुः स विशुद्धसत्त्वः प्रजापतित्वं विनियोक्तुकामः । सुतं रहस्यव्रतसुप्रसन्नात्सूर्योदवापन्महिराभिधानम् ॥ १५ ॥
 उपरोधैकसंरुद्धविन्ध्यवृद्धेरगस्त्यतः । आक्रम्य भूमृतां भोक्ता यः प्रभुर्भोज इत्यभात् ॥ १६ ॥
 यशस्वी शान्तात्मा जगदहितविच्छेदनिपुणः, परिष्वक्तो लक्ष्म्या न च मदकलंकेन कलितः ।
 बभूव प्रेमाद्रौ गुणिषु विषयः सूत्रतगिरामसौ वा रामो बापे स्वकृतिगणनायामिह विधेः ॥ १७ ॥
 यस्याभूत् कुलभूमिभूत्प्रमथनव्यस्तान्यसैन्याम्बुधेः, व्यूढां च स्फुटितारिलजनिवहान्हुत्वा प्रतापानले ।
 गुप्ता वृद्धगुणैरनन्यगतिभिः शान्तैस्सुषोद्भासिभिर्धर्मापत्ययशःप्रभूतिरपरा लक्ष्मोः पुनर्भूयथा ॥ १८ ॥
 प्रीतैः पालनया तपोधनकुलैः स्नेहाद्गुरूणां गणैर्भक्त्या भृत्यजनेन नीतिनिपुणैर्वृन्दैररीणां पुनः ।
 विश्वेनापि यदीयमायुरमितं कर्तुं स्वर्जवैषिणा तन्निघ्ना विदधे विधातरि यथा सम्पत्पराधार्थे ॥ १९ ॥
 अवितथमिदं यावद्विश्वं श्रुतेरनुशासना भवति फलभाक्तां नेशः क्षितिन्द्रशतेष्वपि ।
 अधरितकलेः कीर्तिर्भर्तुस्सतां सुकृतैरभूद्विधुरितधियां सम्पदवृद्धिर्दस्य तदद्भुतम् ॥ २० ॥
 यस्य वैरिबृहद्भञ्जान् दहतः कोपवन्दिना । प्रतापादर्पणां राशीन् पातुर्वैतृण्यमाबभौ ॥ २१ ॥
 कुमारैव विद्यानां वृन्देनाद्भुतकर्मणा । यः शशासासुरान् घोरान् शैवेनाश्रैकशतना ॥ २२ ॥
 यस्याक्षपटले राज्ञः प्रभूतत्वाद्विश्वसम्पदः । लिलेख मुखमालोक्य प्रातिलेख्यकरो विधिः ॥ २३ ॥
 उद्दामतेजःप्रसरप्रसूता शिखेव कीर्तिर्धुमणिं विजित्य । जाया जगद्भर्तुरियया यस्य चित्रं त्विदं यज्जलधीस्ततार ॥ २४ ॥
 राज्ञा तेन स्वदेवीनां यशःपुण्याभिबृद्धये । अन्तःपुरपुरं नाम्ना व्यधापि नरकद्विषः ॥ २५ ॥

यावाभमः सुरसरित्प्रसरोत्तरीयं यावत्सुदुस्तरतपःप्रभवः प्रभावः ।

सत्यश्च यावदुपरिस्थमवत्यशेषं तावत्पुनानु जगतीमियमस्य कीर्तिः ॥ २६ ॥

पातुर्विश्वस्यसम्यक्परममुनिमतश्रेयसस्संविधानादन्तर्गतिर्विवेकः स्थितैव पुरतो भोजदेवस्य राक्षः ।

विद्वद्भृन्दार्जितानां फल्गुमिव तपसां भट्टधन्नेकसूनुर्बालादित्यः प्रशस्तोऽक्रविरिह जगतासक्माकल्पवृक्षे ॥ २७ ॥

TRANSLATION

Om, adoration to Viṣṇu !

1. May the dark-blue body of the enemy of (demon) Naraka, protect you,—that body which shines like the sky kissed by the discs of the sun and the moon (inasmuch as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Śeṣa used as a bed, and is made crimson by the brilliancy of the (jewel) Kaustubha glittering on its breast.
2. As from the fresh seed taken from a fruit in a garden, and sown in a natural fertile soil, grows bulbuous root of a superior kind, from which again spring forth Kalpa trees ; so from the (particle of) light evolved from the Enemy of Demons from self-delightedness and sown by him in soil well-qualified by nature, was born the Sun, the root of all that is good, and from the Sun, again, a line of kings such as Manu, Ikṣvāku, Kaku(t)stha, and the first Pṛthu.
3. In their race in the family in which Viṣṇu set foot, Rāma, of auspicious birth, carried on a war of destruction and slaughter with the demons—dire on account of the adamant arrows—which killed Rāvaṇa.

All praise unto his younger brother Lakṣmaṇa,—a stern rod of Chastisement in war with Meghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride,—who served as the door-keeper (of Rāma), owing to (his) commandment not to allow others to enter.

4. In that family, which bore the insignia of Pratihāra (door-keeper) and was a shelter of the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṭa I appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, inasmuch as, having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of Virtue, he shone with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons.
5. His brother's son, who added to the renown of the family and had the well-known name Kākustha (Kākutstha), but who on account of his (habit of) saying welcome things in an inverted manner was known in the world as Kakkuka (i.e. one who always laughs), was a paramount king.

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, Devarāja, who performed the same task as the great Wielder of the thunderbolt (Indra); (for) he curbed a multitude of kings (bhūbhṛt) by having destroyed their powerful allies (pakṣaḥ) and caused them to cast off their (free) movements (gati) ; Indra also curbed a multitude of mountains (bhūbhṛt) by having destroyed their powerful wings (pakṣaḥ) and thus caused them to cast off their movements (gati).

6. His son, king Vatsarāja, who was compassionate towards the entire world he had subdued and resembled the sun in prowess, revealed himself by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the mountain Udaya.

His riches too, highly fragrant by reason of the flavour of the wine of elephant ichor and shining in company of the needy, appeared exceedingly beautiful having eclipsed the lotus-eyed women, who too became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the fond embrace of their lovers.

7. With strong bows as his companion he forcibly wrested the empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of the infuriated elephants.

Having successfully wielded a position weighty with renown he, the foremost among the most distinguished Kṣatriyas, stamped the noble race of Ikṣvāku with his own name by virtue of his blameless conduct.

8. The primeval man again born to him, and being far-famed and possessed of elephant hosts, was called Nāgabhaṭa (II).

The kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kāliṅga succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire.

9. Who, desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vedas, performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of Kṣatriya families, and after having defeated Cakrāyudha, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others, he became eminent though he (lit. body) was humble through modesty.
10. Having vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vaṅga, who appeared like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, who alone gladdens (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the rising sun, the sole source of the manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness.
11. Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to the whole of mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities (like eloquence, statesmanship etc.) became manifest in the world even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill-fort of the kings of Anarta, Mālava, Kīrāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa and Matsya.
12. (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans (lit. the lords of rivers), full of exceedingly cruel animals, by means of continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey force, looked bright having killed the evil doers, who served as obstacles and (as he thereby) got his wife and renown. His (Nāgabhaṭa's) son, Rāma by name also shone forth like this (homonymous) predecessor by similar worthy deeds: for he, the defender of religion, too had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil doers (as he thus) attained the fame which was unto him even as a consort.
13. That lord of prosperity, who had overpowered the points of compass by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients, was yet demurely waited upon by the other means.
14. The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.
15. A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son by name Mihira by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites in order to dispose of the lordship over his subjects.
16. The lord, who ruled over many kings (bhūbhṛts) after having overcome them and (being therefore) known as Bhoja, shone more glorious than Agastya, who merely checked the rise of (a single bhūbhṛt, i.e., mountain) Vindhya through favour.
17. Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakṣmī (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?
18. The other Lakṣmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the Kula mountains in the form of kings of his own race, who was married by offering (as an oblation) fired grains, which win the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by (his superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that king.

19. In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them, the preceptors out of affection, the servants out of devotion, the multitude of foes out of policy and mankind in general for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him who was as worthy a recipient as the creator himself.
20. According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruits thereof and not (another) though he be the lord of hundred kings. It is strange that the meritorious deeds of honest men, whose intellect was undefiled, went to increase the prosperity of this king, who was the conqueror of Kālī and the lord of fame.
21. Of him who had burnt the powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who had drunk large quantities of water).
22. Like Kumāra (Kārtikeya) with his host of Mātṛkās, who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with a band of women that lived upon arms.
23. Vidhī (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in the chancery of that king, looking at his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess.
24. Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame, issuing out of a flood of luxuriant lustre, returned after conquering the sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the oceans.
25. In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consort, the king erected a house within his seraglio compound in the name of Narakadvīṣ (Viṣṇu).
26. As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power originating from severe religious austerities, as long as truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work purify the world.
27. Bālāditya (is) the poet of this praśasti which would exist along with the world upto the end of the Kalpa ; (he), the son of Bhaṭṭadhanneka and the fruit of penances as if were of a number of learned men, (is) (the personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhojadeva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Bālāditya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of sages.

APPENDIX C

THE SANJAN PLATE OF AMOGHAVARṢA, ŚAKA 793.

(E. I. Vol. XVIII, pp. 243-257).

ॐ स बोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतम् । इदं यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलं कृतम् ॥ १ ॥
 अनन्तभोगस्थितिरत्र पातु वः प्रतापशीलप्रभवोदयाचलः ।
 सुराष्ट्रकृतोच्छ्रितवंशपूर्वजः स वीरनारायण एव यो विभुः ॥ २ ॥
 तदीयवीर्य्यायतयादवान्वये क्रमेण बार्द्धाविव रत्नसंचयः ।
 बभूव गोविन्दमहीप्रतिभुवः प्रसाधनो पृच्छकराजन.....॥ ३ ॥
 बभार यः कौस्तुभरत्नविस्फुरद्भस्तिविस्तीर्णमुरस्थलं ततः ।
 प्रभातभानुप्रभवप्रभाततं हिरण्यं मेरुनिवाभितस्तटम् ॥ ४ ॥
 मनांसि यन्नासमयानि सन्ततम् वचांसि यत्कीर्तिविकीर्तनान्यपि ।
 शिरांसि यत्पादनतानि वैरिणाम् यशांसि यत्तेजसि नेशुरन्यतः ॥ ५ ॥

धनुस्समुत्सारितभूयता मही प्रसारिता येन पृथुप्रभाविना ।

महौजसा वैरितमो निराकृतं प्रतापशीलेन स्वकर्कराटप्रभुः ॥ ६ ॥

इन्द्रराजस्ततो गृह्णात् यथालुक्क्यनृपात्मजाम् । राक्षसेन विवाहेन रणे खेटकमण्डपे ॥ ७ ॥

ततोऽभवद्वन्तिघटाभिमर्दनो हिमाचलादास्थितसेतुसीमतः ।

खलीकृतोद्धूतमहीपमण्डलः कुलाग्रणीयो भुवि दन्तिदुर्गराट् ॥ ८ ॥

हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयन्त्यां यदासितम् । प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥ ९ ॥

स्वयंवरीभूतरणांगणे ततस्स निर्व्यपेक्षं शुभतुंगवल्लभः । चकर्ष चालुक्यकुलप्री यं बलाद्विलोलपालिध्वज-
मालभारिणम् ॥ १० ॥

अयोध्यसिंहासनाचामरोर्जितः सितातपत्रो प्रतिपक्षराज्यभाक् ।

अकालवर्षो हतभूप राजको बभूव राजरिविशेषपुण्यकृत ॥ ११ ॥

ततः प्रभूतवर्षेभूत् धारावर्षस्ततः शरैः । धारावर्षायितं येन संग्राममुवि भूभुजा ॥ १२ ॥

युद्धेषु यस्य करवालनिकृत्तशत्रुमूर्धाङ्गनोष्णरुचिरासवपानमतः ।

आकण्ठपूर्णजठरः परितृप्तमृत्युरुद्गारयन्निव स काहलधीरनादः ॥ १३ ॥

गङ्गयुनयोर्मध्ये राज्ञो गौडस्य नश्यतः । लक्ष्मीलीलारविन्दानि श्वेतच्छत्राणि यो हरेत् ॥ १४ ॥

व्याप्ता विश्वभरान्तं शशिकरधवला यस्य कीर्तिः समान्तात् प्रेस्वच्छं कालमुक्ताफलशतशफरानेकफेनोर्मिरूपैः ।

पारावारान्यतीरोत्तरमविरलं कुर्वतीव प्रयाता स्वर्गं गोव्वाणहारद्विरदसुरसरिद्धतीराष्ट्रच्छलेन ॥ १५ ॥

प्राप्तो राज्याभिषेक निरुपमतनयो यस्स्ववसान्तवर्गात् स्वेषां स्वेषां पदेषु प्रकटमनुनयं स्थापयिष्यानशषाम् ।

पित्रा यूयं समाना इति गिरमरण्योन्मन्त्रिवर्गत्रिवर्गोद्युक्तः कृत्येषु दक्षः क्षितिमवति यदोन्मोक्षयन् बद्धगंगम् ॥ १६ ॥

दुशंस्तावत्स्वश्रुत्या झटिति विघटिता स्थापितान्येशपाशां युद्धे युध्वा स बध्वा विषमतर महोक्षान्नवोप्राप्तसमग्रां ।

मुक्तासान्द्रान्तरात्मा विकृतिपरिणतौ वाडवाग्नि समुद्रः क्षोभो नाभूद्विपक्षानपिपुनरिव तां भूभूतो यो बभार ॥ १७ ॥

उपगतविकृतिः कृतप्रगंगो यदुत्तितदण्डपलायनोनुबन्धाध्यपगतपदशृङ्खलः खलो यः स निगलबन्धगलः कृतस्स
येन ॥ १८ ॥

श्रीमान्धाता विधातुः प्रतिनिधिरपरो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयश्रीसारान्सारामरम्यप्रवितनगग्रामरामाभिरामम् ।

उर्वीमुल्वश्वराणां मकुटमकरिकाश्लिष्टपादारविन्दः पारावारोरुवारि स्फुटरवरशनां पातुमभ्युद्यतो यः ॥ १९ ॥

नवजलधरवीरध्वानगम्भीरभेरीरवबधिरित विश्वाशान्तरालो रिपूणाम् ।

पटुरवपदवक्त्राकाहलोत्तालतूर्यतः त्रिभुवनधवलस्योयोगकालस्य कालः ॥ २० ॥

भूभूमूर्ध्नि सुनीतपादविशरः पुण्योदयस्तेजसा कान्ताशेषदिगन्तः । प्रतिपदं प्रतापोन्नतिः ।

भूयो योऽप्यनुरन्तमण्डलयुतः । पद्माकरानन्दितो मार्तण्ड स्वयमुत्तरायणगतस्तेजोनिधिर्दुस्सहः ॥ २१ ॥

स नागभटचन्द्रगुप्तनृपयोगेशैर्य रणोस्वहार्थमपहार्य धैर्यं विकलानथोन्मोलयत् ।

यशोजैनपरो नृपान्त्वभुवि शालिसस्यानिव पुनः । पुनरतिष्ठिपत्स्वपद एव चान्यापि ॥ २२ ॥

हिमवत्पर्वतनिर्भराम्बुतुरगैः वीतप्य गङ्गाजैः धनितं मज्जनकर्तृयैर्द्विगुणितं भूयोऽपि तत्तन्दरे ।

स्वयमेवोपनतौ च यस्य महत्तस्तौ धर्मचक्रायुधौ हिमवानकीर्तिसरूपतामुपगतस्तत्कीर्तनारायणः ॥ २३ ॥

ततः प्रतिनिकृत्य तत्प्रकृतभृत्यकर्मेत्ययः प्रतापमिव नर्मदातटमनुप्रयातः । पुनः ।

स्वकोशलकलिंगवेगिदहलौङ्गकमालवां विलभ्य निजसेवकैः स्वयमभुजद्विक्रमः ॥ २४ ॥

प्रत्यावृत्तः प्रातिराज्यं विधेयम् कृत्वा रेवामुत्तरं विन्ध्यपादे ।

कुर्वन्धर्मान्कीर्तयैः पुण्यवृन्दैरध्यष्टान्तोचितानां राजधानीं ॥ २५ ॥

मण्डलेश महाराज सर्वस्व यदभूद्भुवः । महाराज सर्वस्वामी भावी तस्य सुतोऽजनि ॥ २६ ॥

यज्जन्मकाले दैवज्ञैरादिष्टं विषहो भुवम् । भोकेति हिमवत्सुतपर्यन्ताभ्युधिमेखलाम् ॥ २७ ॥

योद्धारोमोषवर्षेण बद्धा ये व युधि द्विषः । मुक्ता ये विकृतास्तेषां भस्मतशृङ्खलोज्ज्वलिः ॥ २८ ॥

तत ः प्रभूतवर्षस्सन्स्वस्मूर्णमनोरथः । जगदुगस्समेरुर्वा भूश्रुतामुपरि स्थितः ॥ २९ ॥

उदतिष्ठदवष्टम्भं भुंक्तुं द्रविलभूश्रुताम् । सजागरणचिन्तास्थमन्त्रणभ्रान्तचेतसाम् ॥ ३० ॥

प्रस्थानेन हि केवलं प्रचलति स्वच्छादिताच्छादिता धात्री विक्रमसाधनैस्सकलुषं विद्वेषिणां द्वेषिणाम् ।

लक्ष्मीरप्युरसो लतेव पवनप्रायासिता यासिता धूलिर्नैव दिशोऽगमद्विपुयशस्सन्तानकं तानकम् ॥ ३१ ॥

त्रस्यत्केरलपान्थचौलिकनृपस्सपल्लवं पल्लवं प्रम्लानि गमयन्कलिगमगप्रायासको यासकः ।

गर्जद्गर्जरमौशौशैर्यविलयोलंकारयुधयोगस्तदनिन्यशासनमतस्सद्विक्रमो विक्रमः ॥ ३२ ॥

निकृतिविकृतगंगाशृङ्खलबद्धनिष्ठा मृतिमयुरनुकूला मण्डलेशा स्वधृत्या ।

विरजसमहितेनुयैस्य बाह्यालिभूमिं परितृतिविष्टया वैणिनाथादयोऽपि ॥ ३३ ॥

राजामात्यवराविव स्वहितकार्यालयस्यनष्टौ हठादृण्डेनैव नियम्य मूकबाधिरावानीय हेलपुरे ।

लंकातच्छिल तत्प्रभुप्रतिकृती कान्चोमुपेतौ ततः कीर्तिःस्तम्भनिभौ शिवायतनके येनेह संस्थापितौ ॥ ३४ ॥

यास्या कीर्तिस्तुलोन्नयान्निजभुवनभरं भर्तुमासीत्समर्थः पुत्रश्चास्माकमेकस्सकलमिति कृतं जन्म धर्मैरनेकैः ।

किं कर्तुं स्थेयमस्मिन्निति विमलयश ःपुण्यसोपानमार्गं स्वर्गप्रोतुंगसौधं प्रति रदनुपमः कीर्तिमेवानुयातः ॥ ३५ ॥

बन्धूनां बन्धुराणामुचितनिजकुले पूर्वजानां प्रजानां जातानां वल्लभानां भुवनभरितसत्कीर्तिर्मूर्तिस्थिता ।

त्रातुं कीर्तिं सलोकां कलिकलुषमथो हंतुमतोरिपूणां श्रीमान्सिंहासनस्थो बुधनुतचरितो मोघवर्षप्रशस्ति ॥ ३६ ॥

त्रातुं नग्नान्विजेतुं रणधिरसि परान्प्रार्थकेभ्य ः प्रादातंनिर्वाहुं रुडिसत्यं धरणि परितृष्टो नेऽशोऽन्यः ।

इत्थं प्रोत्थाय रसार्थं पृथुवपदढक्कादिमन्द्रप्रबोधो यस्सोन्द्रस्थेव नित्यं ध्वनति कलिमलध्वंसिनो मन्दिराग्रे ॥ ३७ ॥

दृष्ट्वा तजवराज्यमूर्जितबृहदमैप्रभावं नृपं भूयः षोडशराज्यवत्कृत ः युगप्रारम्भ इत्याकुलः ।

नश्यन्नन्तरनुप्रविश्य विषमो मायामयोऽसौ कलिः सामन्तान्सचिवान्स्वबान्धवजनानक्षोभयत्स्वीकृताम् ॥ ३८ ॥

शठमंत्रं प्रविधायकूटशपथैरोशस्वतन्त्रा स्वयम् विनिहत्योचितयुक्तकारिपुरुषान्स्वं स्वयंप्राहिणः ।

परयोषिदुहितां स्वसेति न पुनर्भेद ः पशूनामिव प्रभुरेवं कलिकालमित्यवसितं सद्वृत्तमुद्धतः ॥ ३९ ॥

विततमहिमघात्रि व्योम्नि संहृत्य धात्रामितवति महतीन्द्रोर्मण्डलं तारकाश्च ।

उदयमहिमभाजो भ्राजितास्सप्रतापे विरतवति विजिह्वाश्चोर्जितास्तावदेव ॥ ४० ॥

गुह्यधमनुयातस्सार्थपातालमल्लादुदयगिरिमहिम्नो रश्मार्तण्डदेवः ।

पुनरुदयमुपेत्योद्धृततेजस्विचक्रं प्रतिहतमथ कृत्वा लोकमेकः पुनाति ॥ ४१ ॥

राजात्मा मन एव तस्य सचिवस्सामन्तचक्रं पुनस्तनीत्येन्द्रियवर्गं एष विधिद्वगादयस्सेवकाः ।

देहस्थानमधिष्ठितः स्वविषयं भोक्तुं स्वतन्त्रक्षमस्तस्मिन्भोक्तारि संनिपातविवशे सर्वेऽपि नश्यन्ति ते ॥ ४२ ॥

दोषानौषधवद्वनानिलवत्शुष्केन्धनान्यमिवत् ध्वान्तं भानुवदात्मपूर्वजसमाप्रायागतान्द्रोहकान् ।

सन्तापान्विनिहत्य यः कलिमलं धात्र्यादिसम्प्रान्ततः कीर्त्यो चन्द्रिक एव चन्धवलच्छद्रत्रिधा भ्राजितः ॥ ४३ ॥

यण्डाभिहतोत्तरोरिव फलं मुक्ताफलं मण्डलात् यातं शूकरयूथवद्हनस्तन्मन्दिरम् हास्तिकम् ।

यस्कोपोप्रदवामिदग्धतनवः प्राप्ता विभूर्तिं पने तत्पादोपनतप्रसादतनवः प्राप्नो विभूर्तिं परे ॥ ४४ ॥

यस्याज्ञां परचकि सजमिवाजस्रं क्षिरोभिर्व्वहन्त्यादिद्वन्तिषटावलीमुखपटः कीर्तिप्रतानस्सतः ।

यत्रस्थ स्वकरप्रतापमहिमा कस्यापि दूरस्थितः तेजकान्तसमस्तभूमुदिन एवासौ न कस्योपरि ॥ ४५ ॥

यद्वापरे परमण्डलाधिपतयो दौवारिकैर्वारिकैरास्थानावसरं प्रतीक्ष्य बहिरुपस्थासिता यासिता ।

गाणिक्यं वररत्नमौक्तिकचितं तद्वास्तिकं हास्तिकं नादास्याम यदीति यत्र निजकं पश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति च ॥ ४६ ॥

सर्पं पातुमसो ददौ निजतनुं जीमूतकेतोः सुतः श्येनायाथ शिविः कपोतपरिरक्षार्थं दधौचोर्ध्वेन ।

तेत्येकैकतर्पण्यकिल्महालक्ष्म्यै स्वामांगुलिं लोकोपद्रवशान्त्ये स्म दिशति श्रीवीरनारायणः ॥ ४७ ॥

हत्या भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्वैर्वा च दीनस्ततो लक्षं कोटिमल्लेखयकिलं कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।

येनात्याजि तनु स्वराज्यमसकृद्वाह्यार्थकैः का कथा ह्रीसस्योन्नतिराधूकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यावपि ॥ ४८ ॥

स्वभुजभुजसनिर्घ्नशोप्रदं धूपप्रदं प्रबलरिपुसमुहे मोघवर्षं मधोशे ।

न दधति पदमीतिव्याधिदुष्कालकाले हिमशिञ्जिरवसन्तप्रोषपवर्षांशस्तु ॥ ४९ ॥

चतुस्समुद्रपर्यान्तः समुद्र यत्प्रसाधितम् । भग्ना समस्तभूपालमुद्रा गरुडमुद्रया ॥ ५० ॥

राजन्द्रास्ते वन्दनीस्तु पूर्वं येषां धर्मा ऽपालनीयोस्मदादैः ।

श्वस्ता दुष्टा वर्तमानास्सधर्मं प्रार्थ्या ये ते भविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राः ॥ ५१ ॥

मुक्तं कैश्चित्त्विकमेणापरेभ्यो दत्तं चान्यैस्त्यक्तमेवापरैर्यत् ।

कस्यानित्ये तत्र राज्ये महद्भिः कीर्त्या धर्मः केवलं पालनीयः ॥ ५२ ॥

तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारम् । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्तितो ब्रह्मदायोऽयम् ॥ ५३ ॥

म च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजगत्तुंगदेवपादानुभ्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभश्रीमदमोघवर्षश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानेव यथासम्भन्ध्यमानकान्द्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्राम-

कृत्युक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं समादिशत्यस्तु ॥ वस्सविदितं यथा मान्यखेटराजधान्यातस्थितेन

गया मातापित्रोरात्मनकश्चैहिकामुत्रिकपुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये ॥ करहडविनिर्गतभरद्वामाग्निवेश्यानां

भांगिरसबाहुस्स्थानां भारद्वाजाजसब्रह्मचारिणे साविक्रवारकमडतपौत्राय । गोलसङ्गमिपुत्राय ।

नरसिंघदीक्षितः । पुनरपि तस्मै विषयविनिर्गता । तस्मै गोत्रे च भट्टपौत्राय ।

गोविन्दभट्टपुत्राय । रच्छादित्यक्रम इतः । तस्मिं देशे । बट्टमुखसब्रह्मचारिणे दावडिगहियसहासपौत्राय ।

विष्णुभट्टपुत्राय । तिविक्रमषडंगमिः । पुनरपि तस्मिं देशे वच्छगोत्रसब्रह्मचारिणे । हरिभट्टपौत्राय । गोवादित्य

भट्टपुत्राय । केसवगहियसाहासः ।

चतुकाः नाना बहुचसखानां । पवं चातुकः ब्राह्मणानां ग्रामो दत्तः संजाणसमीपवर्त्तिनः चतुर्विंशतिग्राममध्ये ।

रुरिवल्लिकानामग्रामः तस्य चाषाठनानि पूर्वतः कलुवी समुद्रगामिनी नदी । दक्षिणतः उत्पलहृत्थकं भट्टग्रामः ।

पश्चिमतः नन्दग्रामः । उत्तरतः धन्नवल्लिकाग्रामः । अयं ग्रामस्य संजाने पत्तने शुंकेन शुण्ण्यामिग्रामं सवृक्ष-

मालाकुलं भोक्तव्यं । एवमयं चतुराषाठनोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगस्सपरिकरः सद्गण्डदुसपराधः सभूतापात्तप्रत्ययः

सोप्तयमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्योदयः अचाटभट्टप्रवेदयः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीया आचन्द्रार्काणवक्षितिम-

सरिस्पर्षतसमकालिनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयकमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रत्यब्रह्मदेवदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धथाय भूमिच्छिद्रन्याएन

शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु नवतुतयत्यधिकेषु नन्दनसंवत्सरान्तर्गतपुष्यमास उत्तरायणमहापर्वणि

वल्लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रतिथिशं संतर्पणार्थं अद्योदकादिसर्गं प्रतिपादितः अतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या

भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रविशतो वा न कैश्चित्प्रापि परिपन्थना कार्या तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्म-

द्वैशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमेवेत्य विद्युल्लोन्वनित्यैश्वर्याणि त्रिणाग्रलज्जलबिन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमाकलय

स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्दयानुमन्तव्यः प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिरान्छिद्यमानक चानुमोदेत

स पंचभिर्महापातकैस्सोपापातकैश्च सयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन ।

षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ ५४ ॥

विन्ध्याटवीष्मन्तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पा हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं हन्ति ये ॥ ५५ ॥

अग्रेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च ददात् ॥ ५६ ॥

बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य सदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ ५७ ॥

स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नादक्ष नराधिप । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाञ्छ्योऽनुपालनम् ॥ ५८ ॥

इति कमटदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।

अति विमलमनोभिरात्मनीर्त्र हि पुरुषः परिकीर्त्तयो विप्याः ॥ ५९ ॥

लिखितं चैत धर्माधिकरणसेनभौगिकेन वालभकायस्थवंशजातेन ।

श्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवकमलानुजीवि गुणधवल्लेन वत्सराजमूनुना ॥

महत्तको गोगूराणक राजा स्वमुखादेशेन ॥ दूतकमितिमंगल महेश्री ॥

TRANSLATION

1. May Hṛ (Viṣṇu) whose navel lotus was adopted by Brahman as his abode, and Hara, too, whose head is adorned by the beautiful digit of the moon, protect you !
2. May that Vira-Nārāyaṇa himself protect you here, who is all-pervading, who rests on the hood of (the serpent) Ananta, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and who is the progenitor of the lofty line of the good Rāṣṭrakūṭas. May that Vira-Nārāyaṇa (Amoghavarṣa), himself protect you here, who is powerful, who lives in endless enjoyments, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and the ancestor of whose lofty line was the good Rāṣṭrakūṭa.
3. In the line of Yadus, long extending through his prowess, in course of time, came to be, like a heap of jewels in the sea, prince Govinda, ornament of the earth, and son of Pṛchchakārāja.
- (4-6). Then came lord Karkarāt, who bore an expensive chest with the rays of the Kaustubha jewel throbbing like Meru which bears golden slope spread all over with lustre emitting from the morning sun ; full of fear for whom were constantly the minds of the enemies, proclaimers of whose fame were (their) words, bent at whose feet were (their) heads, and lost in whose lustre was (their) glory ; by whom possessing the power of Pṛthu the Mahī (the dominions, the earth,) was widened, the bhūbhṛts (the kings, the mountains) were pushed back by the bow, and by whom of great ojas (might, splendour) and of pratāpa (valour, scorching heat) was dispelled the darkness, namely, the enemies.
7. Then came Indrarāja, who in the (marriage) hall, namely, Kheṭaka, seized in battle, the daughter of the Chālukya king by the Rākṣasa (form of) marriage.
8. Then flourished on the earth king Dantidurga, the chief of his family, who smote hosts of elephants and humbled the circle of proud kings from the Himālayas down to the limit of the Setu.
9. By whom kings such as the Gurjara lord and others were made door-keepers when in Ujjayini (the Great Gift called) Hiranya-Garbha was completed by the Kṣatriyas.
10. Then in the battle-field which proved a (place of) choice marriage, Subhatuṅga-vallabha listlessly and forcibly wrested away the fortune of the Chalukya family, bearing the garland, namely, the waving Pālidhvajas.
11. Though elevated by means of incontestable throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella and enjoying a kingdom without any rival, Akālavarṣa, who destroyed kings and chieftains, was a royal sage, a doer of unending holy acts.
12. Then Prabhūtavarṣa became (king), and thereafter Dhāravarṣa, by which king was rained down, as it were, a shower with arrows on the battlefield.
13. That (low), deep sound of whose drum is, as it were the satiated death reaching out, who is intoxicated with potations of tasteful liquor, namely, the slightly warm blood from the enemies' heads cut off by his sword in battles and (who is) (now) with stomach filled to the throat.
14. Who seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotus of the Lakṣmī (Goddess of Sovereignty), of the Gauḍa king, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna.
15. Whose fame, white as the rays of the moon, having pervaded to the end of the earth on all sides, (and) having as it were uninterruptedly crossed to the other end of the ocean in the shape of numbers of moving couches, hundreds of pearls, Śāfara fish, and waves with manifold foam, reached heaven under the semblance of the necklaces and elephants of the gods, the heavenly river, and the dhātaraṣṭra (swan).

16. The son of Nirupama, devoted to Trivarga and diligent in duties, as soon as he was crowned, being desirous of openly re-instating all classes of his feudatories, with courtesies, in their respective positions, and intent upon releasing the imprisoned Gaṅga addressed the words : " Ye are (unto me) like (my) father," to the assemblage of councillors while they were protecting the earth.
17. Quickly fighting in battle and capturing all his wicked vassals like great bulls, extremely uncontrollable and fierce, that had snapped (his noose) but had those of other lords cast over them, and releasing them when their spirit of defection ended, he with his heart softened, harboured them as the ocean does the submarine fire. It was no perturbation to him. He again supported the kings (bhūbhṛts) that were his enemies (vipakṣas) just as the ocean does the mountains (bhūbhṛts) deprived of their wings (vipakṣas).
18. By whom when the ungrateful Gaṅga was disaffected in consequence of fleeing away from the fine ordered by him, that villain, who had been freed from fetters on the feet, had (now) fetters put round his neck.
19. Who was the illustrious Māndhātṛ another viceroy of the creator, inasmuch as he with his lotus-like feet touched by the makara-shaped crowns of the lords of the earth, exerted himself to protect the earth, which had as the essence of (her) royalty the line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, which was charming in consequence of beautiful women, and towns and villages that were delightful, extensive and possessed of gardens, and which had for (her) girdle the ocean resounding clearly with (its) expansive waters.
20. Who deafening the intervals between all the quarters, with the noise of the deep-sounding drums, the sound of which was as loud as that of a new cloud, and with his ḥakkās, kāhalas, and the loud tūryas sounding shrill, is death to the busy time of the enemies of Tribhuvanadhavala.
21. Who, moreover being an unbearable store of lustre, was the sun himself gone into the Uttarāyaṇa (the north ; the northern part of the elliptic), bringing his pāda (feet ; rays) to stretch on the mūrdhans (heads ; tops) of bhūbhṛts (kings ; mountains), being of auspicious rise, covering the intervals between all the quarters with his lustre, getting at every step the increase of his pratāpa (valour, heat), having an anurakta (devoted ; red) maṇḍala (feudatories ; disc) and being padmākar-ānandita (gladdened by the hand of the goddess of sovereignty ; gladdening the assemblage of lotuses).
22. Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta, he, intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like śālī corn, other kings, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards re-instated them in their own places.
23. The water of the springs of the Himālaya mountain was drunk by whose horses and was plunged into by whose elephants, the thunder was redoubled in (its) caverns by the tūrya musical instruments of (whose) ablutions, and to whom, the great one, those (kings) Dharma and Chakrāyudha surrendered of themselves. He thus bore resemblance to the fame of Himālaya, and was consequently Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa.
24. Who returned from there, thinking that it was now the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā, as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mālava country with the Kosala, the Kaliṅga, the Vāṅga, the Dāhala, and the Oḍraka, that Vikrama himself made his servants enjoy them.
25. Making (his) enemies submissive, he returned to the remaining (part of the) Revā, and established himself in a capital befitting (him), at the foot of the Vindhyaś, and performing pious deeds by constructing temples, which are stores of spiritual merits.

26. While the Mahārāja Śarva, lord of a small kingdom, was his own, a son was born to him who was to be Mahārāja-Śarva, lord of the earth.
27. At the time of whose birth it was foretold by astrologers that "being irresistible he would enjoy the earth bounded by the Himālayas and the Setu, and girdled by the ocean.
28. "Of the warriors, (his) enemies, those that were bound down in battle by Amoghavarṣa would be released, but, if disaffected, there would be release from fetters only by being reduced to ashes."
29. Then he was Prabhūtavarṣa, as he satisfied the desires of those that were his own. He was Jagattuṅga being at the head of Bhūbhṛts (kings) just as Meru is jagattuṅga (lofty on earth) being at the head of bhūbhṛts (mountains).
30. He (then) stood up to destroy the haughtiness, of the Dravila kings, who were sleepless, anxious, and with minds distracted through deliberations.
31. By whose mere setting out, the clear undivided earth shakes, being shabbily covered by the instruments of his valour. Lakṣmī too moves away, displeased from the breasts of the enemies, who hate him intensely, like a creeper pulled out by the wind. It is not the dust that has flown away to the quarters, but the loom that extended the fame of his enemies.
32. He terrified the Keraḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chaulika kings, causing the sprouting, Pallava to wither, was the afflictor who caused the Kālīṅga and the Magadha to sit and fast themselves to death, was destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjjaras, and thus behaved like (Rāma) enemy of Laṅkā.
33. The Gaṅgas, who became disaffected through baseness, were bound down with fetters and met with death. The lords of maṇḍalas who were friendly, made his camp ground along with the enclosure, free of dust by wage, but the lord of Veṅgi and others by unpaid labour.
34. By whom having forcibly by (his chastising) rod controlled, like dumb and deaf persons, the king and the prime-minister, ruined through laziness in working for their good, (and) having brought to Helāpura from Laṅkā two statues of its lord, these having afterwards proceeded to Kāñchi, were established there in the temple of Śiva like two columns of fame.
35. " (My) fame has occupied the three worlds, and my unique son is able to bear the burden of this world"—so (thinking) he made his life fruitful through various religious acts. "For doing what should I stay in this (world?)"—so saying Anupama followed (his) fame, while going to the lofty palace, namely, heaven, to which spotless fame and holy merits formed the steps.
36. In order to protect fame (along with the subjects) of the ancestors in his worthy family, and of his pleasing relations, who were the Vallabhas of the people, and who were now living in the form of (their) good fame which filled up the world, and in order thus to destroy the sinfulness of Kali, there rules the prosperous Amoghavarṣa, sitting on the lion-throne, the exterminator of the enemies, whose deeds are praised by the wise.
37. In front of the palace of whom, the destroyer of the impurity of Kali, (as in front of that) of Indra, sounds incessantly the deep rumbling sound of loud-sounding dhakkā and other (instruments), soaring high with the import: "there is no other lord of the earth like this one, able to protect the humble, to conquer enemies at the front of the battle, to make gifts to supplicants, and maintain the truthfulness of custom."
38. Seeing that new kingdom which consisted of sixteen principalities but (seeing also) the king, the might of whose righteousness was profuse and ennobling, the crooked deceitful Kali distressed that it was the beginning of the Kṛta Age, fleeing and penetrating into the interior, distracted the feudatories, the ministers, and his relatives who were made his own.

39. Giving deceitful counsel through false oaths, they were independent of (their) lord. Of their own accord killing the appointed officers who were worthy, all seized for themselves. 'Another's wife is a daughter or sister'—such distinction there was none, as amongst the beasts. The Kali age thus becoming supreme, good behaviour became extinct through sinful living.
40. When, withdrawing (his) expanse of lustre from the sky, the great (sun) sets, the disc of the moon and the stars shine out, attaining to the glory of a rise. When a sa-pratāpa (possessed of heart ; possessed of valour) (temporarily) ceases to be, for that length of time only do the Vijihmas (the dismal ones ; the crooked ones) rise.
41. Following Guru and Buddha (the two planets of those names ; the elders and wise men), the lord, the sun of the Rāṭṭas, taking, again, his rise through the greatness of the rising mountain, namely, Ārya Pātālamalla, and overpowering the unruly circle of the Tejasvins (luminaries ; men of fiery spirits), again, purifies the world.
42. The soul is the king ; the mind is his minister ; the group of senses is again that circle of feudatories according to the political science ; and speech etc., are the servants confirming to the prescribed rules. Presiding over his place, namely, the body, he (the soul) is able to enjoy, independently ; his own Viśaya (kingdom ; worldly objects). When that enjoyer is subject to Samnipāta (a kind of fever, collision), they all perish.
43. Who, having, with rage, destroyed the sedition-mongers that were so by regular succession from their ancestors as does a medicine diseases, wind clouds, fire dry fuel, and the sun darkness, (and) having (thus) destroyed by fame as by moonlight the darkness of Kali from both the beginning and extremity of the earth, he shone by the beauty of the royal parasol, white like the moon.
44. From the maṇḍala (feudatories) struck by whose daṇḍa (chastising rod) pearls came to his palace like fruit from a tree (struck by a stick), (and) to his palace came a host of elephants, like a herd of boars, from the forest, with Maṇḍala (temples) struck by daṇḍa (stick). With the bodies consumed with the fierce fire of whose anger, the enemies were reduced to ashes ; (as) other, with bodies favoured on account of their falling at his feet, attained to prosperity.
45. Whose order! the alien kings incessantly place on their heads as a chaplet. Whose expanse of fame is the white veil on the row of the temples of the elephants of the quarters. Far off from whom stands the greatness of the pratāpa (valour ; heat) of his karas (hands, rays), though it is in him ? overpowering all the bhū-bhṛts (kings ; mountains) with his tejas (prowess, heat) over whom is he not a very ina (king : sun) ?
46. At whose gate the lords of the hostile territories are put to trouble by the relays of the door-keepers, being made to sit outside, while waiting for the proper time of (his) assembly-hall, and when they perceive that they will not obtain back their own berry of courtesans and group of elephants, covered with choice gems and pearls, which have gone into his possession, they droop down.
47. That son of Jimūtaketu gave away his own body to protect a serpent ; Sibi, again, to a hawk to save a dove ; (and) Dadhica to (his) supplicator. But they, we are told, gratified a single individual, (whereas) the illustrious Vira-Nārāyaṇa presented his left finger to Mahā-Lakṣmī for the pacification of a calamity to the (whole) people.
48. That donor, in the kali age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed (his), brother, we are told, seized (his) kingdom and queen, and thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac, one crore (in the document). But he, who gave away more than once his own kingdom, insignificant, (to him), (saying) :

'of what account are the external objects' was bashful even when the fame (had spread) that the ornament of exalted Rāstrakūṭas was the (real) donor.

49. While Amoghavarṣa, whose cluster of powerful enemies are bitten by the fangs of the terrible jaw of the snake, namely, the sword in his hand, is the ruler of the earth, no (adverse) times characterised by calamities to husbandry, plagues and famines can set their foot in the Hemanta, Śiśira, Vasanta, Grīṣma, Varṣā, and Sarat seasons.
50. When the (earth), as far as the coast of the four oceans, bearing his seal, was subdued, the seals of all kings were broken by the Garuḍa seal.
51. Those kings are, indeed, worthy of respect who were of past and whose charity is to be maintained by us and others. The (kings of the) present were wicked and had been destroyed. Those who are to be besought for (the maintenance of) our charity are kings of the future.
52. What consideration can there be for that unstable kingdom which is enjoyed by some through valour, passed over by some to others, and given up again by some others? By the great a charity alone should be maintained for fame.
53. Considering that this life is unsubstantial and as fickle as a breeze or flash of lightning, and that a grant of land as a supreme religious merit, he has promoted this grant to Brāhmaṇas.

And he, the P.M.P. Śrī-Pṛthvi-Vallabha-Śrī-Amoghavarṣa, Śrī-Vallabha-narendradeva, who meditates on the feet of the P.M.P. Śrī-Jagattuṅgadeva—being well, commands the officials such as the lords of the provinces (Rāṣṭra), the lords of the districts (Viśaya), the heads of the villages (grāma-kūṭa), the accountants (Yuktaka), the deputy-accountants (Niyuktata), the leading persons and others,—all according as they are concerned.

"Be it known to you that by me, while residing at the capital of Mānya-kheṭa,—for the enhancement of religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of my parents and myself—has been granted to four Brāhmaṇas of the Bahvṛca Śākhā, namely (1) Narasiṃha-Dikṣita, son of Gola-śaṅgaṅgavid, grandson of Śāvikūvāra-Kramavid, a religious student of the Bhāradvāja (Gotra) consisting of (the pravaras) Bhāradvāja, Agniveśya, Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, (originally) come from Karhaḍa; (2) Rakṣāditya-Karmavid, son of Govinda-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Bhaṭṭa, of the same gotra and come from the same province; (3) Tri-vikrama-śaṅgaṅgavid, son of Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭa, grand-son of Dāvaḍi-Gahiyasahāsa, a religious student of the Vaḍḍamukha (gotra), (residing) in the same country; (4) Keśava-Gahiyasahāsa son of Govāditya-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, a religious student of the Vatsa (gotra) (and residing) in the same country;—the village called Jharivallikā from the twenty-four-village group adjoining to Samjāna. Its boundaries (are) : to the east, the river Kalluvi, flowing towards the sea, to the south the village of the Bhaṭṭas called Uppalahatthaka, to the west Nandagrāma (and) to the north the village of Dhannavallikā.

That (village), so marked by the four boundaries, together with the royal share, with the appurtenances, with (the proceeds for the punishment) of faults and the ten offences, with the (right) of toll upon the appearance of a spirit, with the (right) to forced labour as it arises, and with the assessment in grain and gold, not to be entered on by the Cāṭas or Bhāṭas, and not to be seized by the hand of any (officials) belonging to the king, to be enjoyed lineally in regular succession of sons, grandsons etc., to endure for the same time with the sun, the moon, the sea, the earth, the river and the mountains, to the exclusion of previously given grants to Brāhmaṇas and gods, and according to the custom of cultivable and uncultivable land for the purpose of internal adjudication was bestowed to-day on the great festive occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa in the month of Pauṣa falling in the (current) Nandana-cyclic year, seven centuries of years increased

by ninety-three having elapsed since the time of Śaka king, for the sake of Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra, and Athithisañtarpaṇa, by pouring water and so forth (from the hand). No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to one enjoying (this village), allowing (others) to enjoy (it), cultivating it, causing (it) to be cultivated, or occupying it in the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise this, my gift (to Brāhmaṇas) should be assented to and supported, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether my descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift is common (both to the grantor and to the preserver), and considering that ephemeral wealth is as fickle as the flashes of lightning, and life as unsteady as the drops of water clinging to the ends of grass. And he, who, with his intellect, enclosed by the cover, namely, darkness of ignorance, will assent to (the actions of) one ready to confiscate (this grant of land), will be invested with the (guilt of the) five great sins and minor sins. (For) it is also said by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—[Vv.—54-59 are the benedictory and imprecatory verses with which a charter usually ends].

This has been written by the judge and Senabhogika, Guṇadhavala, son of Vatsarāja, who is born in the Kāyastha family of Vālabha and serves the lotus (feet) of the prosperous Amoghavarṣadeva. The Mahattaka Gogū-Rāṇaka was the Dūtaka through the king's own verbal order.

APPENDIX D

UDAIPUR PRASASTI OF THE KINGS OF MALVA

(E. I., Vol. I, pp. 233-238).

TRANSCRIPT.

ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

गंगांशुसंसिक्तभुजंगमालवाले कलेन्दोरमलांकुराभा ।

यन्मूर्द्धनि नम्रेहितकल्पवल्ग्या भातीव भूत्यै स तवास्तुशंभुः ॥ १ ॥

सानन्दनदिकरसुन्दरसांद्रनादीनादेन तुंबुरुमनोरमगगनमानैः ।

नृत्यंत्यवस्यमनिशं सुरवासवेस्या यस्याप्रतो भवतु वः स शिवः शिवाय ॥ २ ॥

मूर्द्धेस्थिताभ्रसरितोक्षमयेव शंभोरद्वागमंगघटनाद्धनमाश्रयंती ।

दृष्ट्वात्मनाथवसतां सकलांगतुष्टा पुष्टिं नगेंद्रतनयाभवतां विदध्यात् ॥ ३ ॥

गणेशो वः सुखायास्तु निशातः परशुः करे । यस्य नम्रघनावयकंदोच्छिद्यः इवोद्यतः ॥ ४ ॥

अस्त्युर्वीध्रः प्रतीच्यां हिमगिरितनयः सिद्धदंपत्यसिद्धेः स्थानं च ज्ञानभाजामभिमतफलदोऽखर्वितः सोऽर्जुनदाह्यः ।

विश्रामिन्त्रो वसिष्ठादहरत वलतो यत्र गां तत्प्रभावाज्ज्ञे वीरोभिर्कुंडाद्रिपुवल्निधनं यश्चकारैक एव ॥ ५ ॥

मारयित्वा परान्धेनुमानिन्ये स ततो मुनिः । उवाच परमारा—धिर्वेदो भविष्यति ॥ ६ ॥

तदन्ववायेऽखिलयज्ञसंघत्तामरोदाहृतकीर्तिरासीत् । उपेंद्रराजो द्विजवर्गगतं सौर्याब्जितुंगनृपत्वमानः ॥ ७ ॥

तत्सूत्रासीदराराजकुम्भिकंठीरवो वीर्यवतां वरिष्ठः । श्रीवैरसिंहश्चतुर्णवान्तधान्यां जयस्तंभकृतप्रशस्तिः ॥ ८ ॥

तस्माद्भूव वसुधाधिपनौलिमालारत्नप्रभारुचिरंजितपादपीठः ।

श्रीसीयकः करकृपाणजलोर्मिमग्नशत्रुवज्रो विजयिनां धुरि भूमिपालः ॥ ९ ॥

तस्मादवन्तितरुणीनयनारविन्दभास्वानभूत्करकृपाणमरीचिदीप्रः ।

श्रीवाक्पतिः शतमखानुकृतिस्तुरंगा गंगासमुद्र-सलिलानि पिबन्ति यस्य ॥ १० ॥

जातस्तस्माद्वैरिसिंहोन्यनाम्ना लोको ब्रूते वज्रटस्वामिनं यं ।

शत्रुवर्गं धारयासेर्निहत्य श्रीमद्भारा सूचिता येन राज्ञा ॥ ११ ॥

तस्मादभूद्रिनरेश्वरसंघसेवागर्ज्जुजैर्द्रवसुंदरतूर्यनादः ।

श्रीहर्षदेव इति खोट्टिगदेवलक्ष्मीं जग्राह यो युधि नगादसमप्रतापः ॥ १२ ॥

पुत्रस्तस्य विभूषिषाखिलधराभोगो गुणैकास्पदं शौर्याकान्तसमस्तशत्रुविभवाधिध्यायवित्तोदयः ।

वक्तृत्वोच्चकवित्वतर्ककलनप्रज्ञावशास्त्रागमः । श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेव इति यः सद्भिः सदा कीर्त्यते ॥ १३ ॥

कर्णोटलाटकेरलचोलशिरोरत्नरागिपदकमलः । यश्च प्रणयिगणार्थितदाता कल्पद्रुमप्रह्वयः ॥ १४ ॥

युवराजं विजित्याजौ हत्वा तद्वाहिनीपतीन् । खड्गमूर्द्धाकृतं येन त्रिपुर्यां विजिगीषुणा ॥ १५ ॥

तस्यानुजो निर्जितदृष्टराजः श्रीसिंधुराजो विजयार्जितश्रीः ।

श्रीभोजराजोजनि येन रत्नं नरोत्तमाकम्पकृद- द्वितीयं ॥ १६ ॥

आ कैलसान्मलयगिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयादा भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथुनरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन ।

उन्मूल्योर्व्वीभरगुह्यणा लीलया चापयज्या क्षिप्ता दिक्षु क्षितिरेपि परां प्रीतिमापादिता च ॥ १७ ॥

साधितं विहितं दत्तं ज्ञातं तद्यन्न केनचित् । किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रशस्यते ॥ १८ ॥

चेदीश्वरैर्द्रवधतोमगलभीममुख्यान्कर्णोटलाटपतिगूज्जरराटुत्तुरुष्कान् ।

यद्भूत्यमात्रविजितानवलोक्य मौला दोष्णां वलानि कलयन्ति न योद्धूलोकान् ॥ १९ ॥

केदारामेश्वरसोमनाथसुडीरकालानलछद्मसक्तैः । सुराश्रयैर्व्याप्य च यः समन्ताद्यथार्थसंज्ञां जगतीं चकार ॥ २० ॥

तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदनं स्वर्गिणां भर्गभक्ते व्याप्ता धारेव धात्री रिपुतिमिरभरैर्ममौल्लोकस्तदाभूत् ।

विश्वस्तांगो निहत्योद्भटरिपुतिमिरभरं खड्गदंडांसुजालैरन्यो भास्वानिवोद्यन्मुदितजनास्मोदयादित्यदेवः ॥ २१ ॥

येन धरणीवराहः परमारेणोद्धृतोनिरायासात् । तस्यैतस्याभूमेरुद्धारो वत कियन्मात्रः ॥ २२ ॥

कुंवान्य—तवाजिब्रजह—

TRANSLATION

Orn, adoration to Siva !

1. May that Śambhu tend to thy welfare, on whose head the pure crescent of the moon looks like the sprout of the creeper of paradise that is desired by the worshippers, (standing) in a basin of snakes sprinkled by the water of Gaṅgā.
2. May that Śiva conduce to your happiness, before whom the harlots of the abode of the gods needs ever dance to the sound of the loud, beautiful time beating of joyful Nandin's hands and to the tunes of Tumburu's soul—enchanting songs !
3. May the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) grant you prosperity,—she who, out of jealousy, as it were, of the aerial river (Gaṅgā) that rests on Śambhu's head, firmly clings to one half of his body, joining hers (to his), and who feels pleasure in every limb when she sees the subjection of her lord !
4. May Gaṇeśa grant you happiness, in whose hand a sharp axe is raised in order to cut off, as it were, the root of the great sinfulness of his worshippers !
5. There is in the west a son of the Himālaya, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (Ābū), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (true) knowledge, and (is) the place where the conjugal union of the Siddhas is perfect. There Viśvā-mitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vasiṣṭha's) power a hero arose from the firepit, who singly worked the destruction of the enemy's army.
6. When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow ; then that sage spoke :
"Thou wilt become a lord of (kings, called) Paramāra."

7. In his line there was Upendrarāja, whose fame was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifice,—who was a jewel among the twice-born and gained high honour of kinghood by his valour.
8. His son was a lion for the elephant-like hostile kings, the best of heroes, the illustrious Vairisimha, who composed his own eulogy by (erecting) pillars of victory (everywhere) on the earth that is bounded by four oceans.
9. From him sprang the illustrious Siyaka, a prince (standing) in the first rank of conquerors, whose footstool was resplendent and coloured by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of kings,—(he) the crowd of whose enemies was submerged in the waves of the water of the blade in his hand.
10. From him sprang the illustrious Vākpati, a sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti, (he who was) resplendent with the rays of the sword in his hand, who resembled Satamakha (Indra), and whose armies drank the waters of Gaṅgā and of the ocean.
11. From him was born Vairisimha, whom the people call by another name, the lord Vajraṭa ; by that king famous Dhārā was indicated, when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the sharp edge (Dhārā) of his sword.
12. From him sprang he who is called his glorious majesty Harsha, the sound of whose trumpets was beautiful like the noise of the roaring of mighty elephants in the armies of numerous hostile kings, he who, equalling the snake-eater (garuḍa) in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of king Khotṭiga.
13. His son who, (being) the sole abode of good qualities, adorned the whole globe of the earth, the growth of whose riches was proportionate to the deposits of wealth (which he received) from all foes that were conquered by his bravery, who, cultivating eloquence, high poetry, and the art of reasoning, completely mastered the lore of the Śāstras, was he who is ever praised by the virtuous as his glorious majesty Vākpati.
14. He whose lotus-feet were covered by the jewels on the heads of the Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Cholas, and who possessed the fame of a tree of paradise, since he granted to a crowd of supplicants whatever they desired.
15. Who, conquering Yuvarāja and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī.
16. His younger brother was the illustrious Sindhurāja, who conquered the king of the Hūṇas and who gained glory by his victories. He begat the illustrious Bhojarāja, a jewel without a rival, (a hero) who caused the best men to tremble.
17. He, who resembled king Pṛthu, possessed the earth up to Kailāsa, upto the Malaya hills, and upto the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun ; he scattered in (all) directions the weighty crowd of earth-supporters, easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow, and gave highest joy to the earth.
18. He accomplished, ordered, gave and knew what (was) not (in the power) of anybody else ; what other praise can be given to illustrious Bhoja, the poet-king ?
19. Seeing the Karṇāṭas, the lord of Lāṭa, the king of Gūjara, the Turuṣkas, chief among whom were the lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Toggala (?) and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries alone, his hereditary warriors thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of the fighters.
20. He made the world (jagatī) worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmāśvara, Somanātha Surādīra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra.
21. When that devotee of Bharga (Śiva) whose brilliancy resembled that of the Sun, had gone to the mansions of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness, his foes, (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then

arose king Udayāditya, another Sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour.

22. Lo ! how easy was the rescue of this earth for that Paramāra, by whom the primeval boar was restored without a difficulty.

APPENDIX E

VADNAGAR PRASASTI OF KUMĀRAPĀLA

(E. I. Vol. I, pp. 296-305).

ॐ ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ।

ब्रह्माद्वैतधिया मुमुक्षुभिरभिव्यातस्य बद्धाक्षुरैरिच्छाशक्तिमभीष्टवीमि जगतां पत्युः श्रुतीनां निधेः ।
 या व्यापारितसंहतैः स्वसमयं ब्रह्माडपिण्डैर्नवैः क्रीडन्ती मणिकंदुकैरिव स स्वच्छन्दमाल्हादते ॥ १ ॥
 गीर्वाणैर्व्वीतगर्वं दनुजपरिभवात्प्राथितन्त्रायकार्थं वेधाः सन्ध्यानमस्यत्रपि निजचुलुके पुण्यगङ्गांश्चुपूर्णं ।
 सद्यो वीरं चुलुक्पाण्ड्यमसृजदिमं येन कीर्तिप्रवाहैः पूतं त्रैलोक्यमेतन्म्रियतमनुहरन्त्येव हेतो फलं श्रीः ॥ २ ॥
 वंशः कोऽपि ततो बभूव विविधाश्चर्यैकलीलास्पदं यस्माद्भूमिभृतोऽपि वीतगणिताः प्रादुर्भवन्त्यन्वहम् ।
 छायां यः प्रथितप्रतापमहतीं धे विपन्नोऽपि सन् यो जन्मावधि सर्वदापि जगतो विश्वस्य दत्ते फलम् ॥ ३ ॥
 वंशस्यास्य यशःप्रकाशनविधौ निर्मूल्यमुक्तामणिः क्षोणीपालकिरीटकल्पितपदः श्रीमूलराजोऽभवत् ।
 यो मूले कलिदावदग्धनेखिलन्यायाद्भूमोत्पादने यो राजेव करैः प्रकामशिशिरैः प्रीतिं निनाय प्रजाः ॥ ४ ॥
 यश्चापोत्कराजराज्यकमलां स्वच्छन्दबन्दीकृताम् विद्वद्बान्धवविप्रबन्दिभृतकव्यूहोपभोग्यां व्यधात् ।
 यत्स्वज्ञाप्रथिणीं तदा प्रियमलं युद्धस्फुरद्विक्रमकोताः सर्वदिगन्तरक्षितिभुजां लक्ष्म्यधिरं भेजिरे ॥ ५ ॥
 सुसूतस्तस्य बभूव भूपतिलक्ष्मसुण्डराजाऽह्यो यद्वन्धद्विपदानगण्यपवनाप्राणेन दूरादपि ।
 विभ्रस्यन्मदगन्धमग्नकरिभिः श्रीसिन्धुराजस्तथा नष्टः क्षोणीपतिर्यथास्य यशसां गन्धोऽपि निर्नाशितः ॥ ६ ॥
 तस्माद्बलभराज इत्यभिधया क्षमापालचूडामणिधेज्ञे साहसकर्मनिमित्तचमत्कार क्षमामण्डले
 यत्कोपानलज्ज्मितं पिशुनया तत्संप्रयाणश्रुतिक्षुब्धन्यालवभूयचक्रविकसन्मालिन्यधूमोद्गमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमद्भुराजनामनृपतिर्भ्रातास्य राज्यं दधे शृंगारेऽपि निविष्णधीः परवधूर्गेस्य यो दुर्लभः ।
 यस्य क्रोधपरामृणस्य किमपि भूवह्नी भंगुरा सद्यो दर्शयति स्म लारवसुधाभंगस्वरूपं फलम् ॥ ८ ॥
 भीमोऽपि द्विषतां सदा प्रणयिणां भोग्यत्वमासेदिवान् क्षोणीभारमिदं बभार नृपतिः श्रीभीमदेवो नृपः ।
 धारापञ्चकसाधनैकचतुरैस्तद्वाजिभिः साधिता क्षिप्रं मालवचक्रवर्तिनगरी धारेति को विस्मयः ॥ ९ ॥
 तस्माद्भूमिपतिर्बभूव वसुधाकर्णवतंसस्फुरत्कीर्तिप्रीणितविश्वकर्णविवरः श्रीकर्णदेवाह्वयः ।
 येन ज्याप्रथितस्वरं च्युतशरं धर्मं पुरस्कृत्वा न्यायज्ञेन न केवलं रिपुगणः कालोऽपि विद्धः कलिः ॥ १० ॥
 दृष्यन्मालवभूयबन्धनविधित्रस्ताखिलक्षमापतिर्भक्त्याकृष्टवित्तीर्णदर्शनशिवमूत्रप्रभावोदयः ।
 सद्यः सिद्धरसानृणीकृतजगद्गीतापमानस्थितिर्जज्ञे श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतिः श्रीसिद्धाधिराजस्ततः ॥ ११ ॥
 वक्ष्या वेष्म रसातलं च विलसत्भोगित्वचं प्राविशन् संभोक्तुम् ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ क्षत्राणि रक्षांसि च ।
 यःक्षोणीधरयागिनीं च सुमहाभोगां सिषेवे चिरं हेलासिद्धरसाः सदाक्षितिभुज ~ ~ ~ रे ॥ १२ ॥
 तीत वित्तीर्णदाननिवहैः संपन्नपुण्योचयः क्रीडाक्रान्तदिगन्तरालसकल ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ॥ १३ ॥
 कुलभूष..... ~ ~ ~ विलंब क्रीडाकोड इवोद्धार वसुधां देवाधिदेवाज्ञया । देवः सोधकुमारपालनृपतिः
 श्रीराज्यचूडामणिः...गादवतीर्णवान् हरिरिति ज्ञातः प्रभावाब्जनेः ॥ १४ ॥
 अर्णोराजनराधिराजहृदये क्षिप्तैकबाणत्रजाश्व्योतलोहिततर्पणादमदयचण्डी भुजस्थायिनी ।
 द्वारालम्बितमालवेश्वरधिरः पद्मेन यश्चाहरलीलापङ्कजसंप्रहृद्यसनिनीं चौलुक्यराजान्वयः ॥ १५ ॥

शुद्धाचारनवावतारसरणिः संधर्मकर्मकमप्रादुर्भावविशारदो नयपथप्रस्थानसार्थाधिपः ।

यः सम्प्रत्यवतारयन् कृतयुगं...योगं ~ लघयन् मन्ये संहरति स्म भूमेवलयं कालव्यवस्थामपि ॥ १६ ॥

प्रत्युह ~ खण्डितांगुलिलैः पर्युल्लसत्पल्लवी नष्टोदीच्यनराधिपोजितसितछत्रैः प्रसूनोज्वलः ।

छित्र प्राच्यनरेन्द्रमालिकमलैः प्रौढ्यफलद्योतित छाया दूरमवर्धयन्निजकुले यस्य प्रतापद्रुमः ॥ १७ ॥

आचारः किल तस्य रक्षणविधिविज्ञेनानिर्नाशितप्रयूहस्य फलवलोकिशकुनज्ञानस्य मंत्रान्वयः ।

देवी मण्डलखण्डिताखिलरिपोर्युद्धं विनोदात्सवः श्रोसोमेश्वरदत्तराज्यविभवस्याडंबरं वाहिनी ॥ १८ ॥

राज्ञानेन च भुज्य.....भगा विश्वभराविष्कूरदत्तनद्योतितवारिराशिरशनां शीताद्रिविन्ध्यस्तनी ।

एताभूषयदक्षिणकुण्डलमिव श्रुत्याश्रयं छतविभ्राणा.....गराह्यं द्विजमहास्थानं सुवर्णादयं ॥ १९ ॥

आब्रह्मादिकृषिप्रवर्तितमहायज्ञक्रमोत्तमैर्युर्पदं तत्करावलम्बनतया पादव्यपेक्षाच्युतः ।

धर्मत्रैव चतुर्युगेऽपि कलमानन्दः परिस्पन्दिते तेनानन्दपुरेति यस्य विवृणैर्मानन्तरं निर्मितम् ॥ २० ॥

आश्रातद्विजवर्गवेदतुमुल्लेखार्थ्यमारापितः शश्वद्धोमहुताशधूमपटलैरान्यव्यथा लम्बितः ।

नानादेवनिकेतनध्वजशिसापातैश्च खंजीकृतो यस्मिन्नय कलिः स्वकालविहितोत्साहोपि नोत्सर्पति ॥ २१ ॥

सर्पद्विप्रवधूजनस्य विविधालंकाररत्नांशुभिः स्मेराः संततगीतमंगलवैवाचालतां प्रापिताः ।

अस्तांतोत्सवलक्ष्यमाणविभाक्प्रेषकाशस्थितौ मार्गा एव वदन्ति यत्र नृपतेः सौराज्यसंपद्वृणम् ॥ २२ ॥

अस्मिन्नाक्राक्षमापद्विजजनस्त्राणं करोत्यध्वरैः रक्षां शान्तिकर्षाष्टिकैर्वितनुते भूषस्य राष्ट्रस्य च ।

मा भूतस्य तथापि तीव्रतपसो बाधेति भक्त्या नृपो वप्रविप्रपुराभिरक्षणकृते निर्मापयामास सः ॥ २३ ॥

अस्मिन्वप्रगुणेन तोयनिलयाः प्रीणन्ति लोकं जलैः कामं क्षेत्रभुवोऽपि वप्रकलितास्तन्वंति धान्यप्रियं ।

एवं चेतसि संप्रधाय सकलब्रह्मोपकारेच्छया चक्रे वप्रविभूषितं पुरमिदं चौलुक्यचूडामणिः ॥ २४ ॥

पादाक्रान्तरसातलो गिरिरिव श्लाघ्यो महाभोगतः शृंगारीव तरंगिणीपतिरिव स्फारोदयद्वारभूः ।

उत्सर्पत्कपिशिर्षको जय इव कव्यादनाथद्विषां नारीवर्गं रावेष्टकांतरुचिरः सालोयमालोक्यते ॥ २५ ॥

भोगाभोगमनोहरः पणशतैरुत्तुंगतां धारयन् यातः कुण्डलितां च यज्ञपुरुषस्याज्ञावशेनागतः ।

रत्नस्वर्णमहानिधिं पुरमिव त्रातुं स शेष स्थितः प्राकारः सुधया सितोपलक्षितः संलक्ष्यते वृत्तान् ॥ २६ ॥

कामं कामसमृद्धिपूर्करमाराभामिरामाः सदा स्वच्छंदस्वपततत्परैर्द्विजकुलैरत्यंतवाचालिताः ।

उत्सर्पेद्गुणशालिवप्रबल्यप्रीतैः प्रसन्ना जनैः रत्नांताश्च बहिश्च संप्रति भुवः शोभाद्भुतं विभ्रतिः ॥ २७ ॥

लक्ष्मीकुलं क्षोणिभुजो दधानः प्रौढोदयाधिष्ठितविप्रहोऽयं ।

विभ्राजते नागरकाम्यवृष्टिः वप्रश्च चौलुक्यनराधिपश्च ॥ २८ ॥

यावत्पृथ्वी पृथविरचितशेषभूभृन्निवेशा यावत्कीर्तिः सगरनृपतेर्विद्यते सागरोऽयम् ।

तावन्नन्याद्विजवरमहास्थानरक्षानिदानश्रीचौलुक्यक्षितिपतियशःकीर्तनं वप्र एष ॥ २९ ॥

एकाहनिष्पन्नमहाप्रधः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबन्धुः । श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥ ३० ॥

संवत् १२०८ वर्षे आश्विन शुदि ५ गुरौ लिखितं नागरब्राह्मणपंडितबालणेन ॥

चौलुक्यनाम्ना ह्यधिपेन कारिता प्रतोलिका यार्जुनवारिकोपनन् ।

पुनर्नवीना लतफल्हा तब-वेगमिर्जाने-न्नेन नृपेण कारिता ॥ १ ॥

चैत्रमासे शुभ्रे पक्षे प्रतिपदुत्वासरे । नंदाष्टमृषे...१६८९ वर्षे प्रशस्ति लिखिता पुनः ॥ २ ॥

नागरब्राह्मणजोशीवेणीमुतेन विष्णुजीकेन लिखिता प्रशस्तिः शुभं भवतु ॥ छ ॥

TRANSLATION

Om ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva !

1. I praise that will-power of the lord of the (three) worlds, the store-house of the Vedas, on whom the silent seekers after salvation meditate as on the non-dualistic Brahman,—(that power) which, playing with new mundane eggs, as

with jewelled balls—producing and destroying them at their time—ever amuses itself according to its desires.

2. Humbly asked by the gods for a protector against the insults of the sons of Danu, the Creator, though about to perform the twilight-worship, produced forthwith in his pot (chuluka) filled with the holy water of Gaṅgā, that hero, named Chuluka who sanctified these three worlds with the floods of his fame. Of a necessity the glory of the cause produces its result.
3. From him sprang a race, the sole sporting-ground of many marvels, in which even kings without number daily appear, which, even in its decay, possessed a lustre, great on account of its famed valour, and which ever bestows blessings on the whole world down to common men.
4. Illustrious Mūlarāja, who stepped on the diadems of princes, was a priceless pearl to enhance the splendour of the fame of his family,—he who became the root of the tree of justice that had been burnt by the forest-fire of the Kali (Age) and, as (becomes) a (true) king, by exceedingly light taxes gained the affection of his subjects.
5. He made the Fortune of the kingdom of the Cāpotkaṭa princes, whom he took captive at his will, an object of enjoyment for the multitude of the learned, of his relatives, of Brāhmaṇas, bards and servants. Won by his valour that mightily blazed forth in battle, the guardian goddesses of the kings of all the other regions then clave for a long time to the Fortune residing in his sword.
6. His son was that front-ornament among kings, called Cāmuṇḍarāja. -Inhaling even from afar the breeze perfumed with the ichor of his (Cāmuṇḍa's) excellent elephants, the illustrious Sindhu-king fled together with his own elephants that were cowed by the smell of (their opponent's) rut, and vanished in such wise that even all trace of the fame of that prince was lost.
7. From him was born a crest-jewel among princes named Vallabharāja, who astonished the circle of the earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke, rising from the empire of the Mālava king, who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger.
8. (After him) ruled his brother, called the illustrious king Durlabharāja, who, though his heart was bent on love, was not easily accessible to the wives of others. When, filled with anger, he somewhat contracted his arched eyebrows, that forthwith indicated its result, the destruction of the Lāṭa country.
9. (Next) illustrious king Bhīmadeva, who though terrible (Bhīma) to his foes, ever granted enjoyment to his friends, as ruler, carried this load of the earth. What wonder was there that his horses, supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called 'dhārā'), quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the emperor of Mālava?
10. From him sprang a king, called illustrious Karṇa, an ornament of the ear (karṇa) of the earth, who gladdened the auditory passages of the universe with (the tales of) his brilliant fame. That righteous one, placing the sacred law before (him as his shield) smote with the loud twanging of the sinew (of his bow) and with flight of arrows not only the crowd of his foes, but the Kali age.
11. From him was born the illustrious king Jayasīmhadeva-Siddhādhirāja, who frightend all rulers of the earth by the manner in which he fettered the proud king of Mālava, who was propitious in the aspect that he showed to those drawn towards him by devotion, who was an incarnation of the development of majesty, who was ever celebrated by the people, freed by him from debt by the help of the philosopher's tincture, as the standard of comparison.
14. He who, like (Viṣṇu) disguised as a boar, uplifted the earth at the command of the God of gods, was his majesty King Kumārapāla, the crest-

- jewel of the reign of Śrī, and on account of his majestic power he was considered by his people as Hari who had descended from heaven.
15. This scion of the race of the Cālukya kings shot one flight of arrows into the heart of the supreme king of men, Arjorāja, and made (the goddess) Chāṇḍī, who was seated on his arm, drunk by satisfying her with the gushing blood, and he charmed her when she was desirous of taking a toy-lotus, with the lotus-head of the Mālava-lord that was suspended at his gate.
 16. He who is the path for a new descent of pure virtuous conduct, who is expert in causing the numerous works of true piety, and who is the leader of the caravan travelling on the road of righteousness, subjects to himself, methinks, (not only) the circle of the earth, (but) also the arrangement of time, since he now makes the Kṛta age appear and disregards the suitability of the (time of) Kali.
 17. The tree of his prowess, which bears glittering sprouts in the guise of slender fingers, cut off resplendent flowers in the shape of white umbrellas, left behind by the flying king of the North, and as a shining, moist (?) fruit, the severed lotus-head of the ruler of the East, gave wide-spreading shade to his own race.
 18. The rule of conduct for that (prince), for whom Vighneśa (Gaṇapati) removed all obstacles, was to protect (his subjects); the aim of his councils was the knowledge of omens (known) to those who look for results; the battle was the festive amusement of him, whose foes were all destroyed by the multitude of his (tutelary) Devīs; his army was (mere) show for him to whom Someśvara had given regal splendour.
 19. This earth, that is blessed in being enjoyed by that king (Kumārāpāla) that is surrounded by the oceans as by a girdle resplendent with glittering jewels, whose breasts are the snowy mountain and the Vindhya, bears a sacred settlement of Brāhmaṇas, rich in men of a noble caste, called Nāgara, which resembles an ornamental ivory-ring placed in its ear.
 20. Even here Dharma, who has suffered a fall with respect to his feet, joyfully moves about during the whole four ages, since he finds a support for his hands in the sacrificial pillars erected for the series of great sacrifices which the sages continuously performed from the beginning of Brahman's (life). Hence the gods gave to this (town) its second name Anandapura.
 21. Even to-day, Kali, though putting forth his energy in the period called after him, does not roam there, because the loud noise of the Vedas (recited) by crowds of untired Brāhmaṇas deafens him, because the smoke of the fire (blazing up) with uninterrupted oblations, afflicts him with blindness, because the blows from the tips of the flags (raised) on numerous temples of the gods, lame him.
 22. There even the streets, resplendent with the rays of the jewels in the various ornaments of the Brāhmaṇas' wives taking their walks, and made noise by the auspicious sounds of uninterrupted songs, proclaim the excellence of the most beneficent reign of the king with respect to the splendour of the great wealth that is indicated by never-ending festivals.
 23. There the Brāhmaṇas, descended from the Nāgara race, protect the king and the realm and guard them by sacrifices that ward off evils and cause prosperity. Lest, nevertheless, this Brāhmaṇa-town, though thus given up to difficult austerities, should suffer harm, the king, full of devotion, ordered a rampart to be built for its protection.
 24. "In consequence of the excellence of the rampart the drinking-fountains gladden people there with water, even the cultivated fields, enclosed by the rampart, bring at pleasure rich crops;" thinking thus in his heart the crest-jewel of the Chaulukyas adorned this whole town with a rampart, desiring to benefit the Brāhmaṇas.

25. This rampart resembles a mountain since its foundation goes down to the lower world ; (it resembles) a lover worthy to be praised on account of his great enjoyments (ślāghyo mahā-bhogataḥ), since it is worthy of praise on account of its great extent (ślāghyo-mahā-ābhogataḥ) ; (it resembles) the victory of the foes of the lord of the Rākṣasas, since monkeys' heads peep forth from it ; (and it resembles) a company of women who are pleased with their dear husbands (iṣṭa-kāṇṭha-ruciraḥ) ; since it is resplendent with a copying of bricks (iṣṭakā-antaruciraḥ).
26. This circular rampart, whose stone-head is white with stucco, looks like (the serpent) Śeṣa who is charming through the size of his folds, who raises a hundred hoods on high, who has curled himself up in the shape of a ring, who has come (from the nether world) at the command of Yajñapurūṣa (Viṣṇu) and stays (here) in order to protect this town, a store-house of jewels (viz.) of men of a noble caste.
27. Inside and outside, the grounds here now wear a wonderful beauty, being always lovely, according to (one's heart's) desire, with women, beautiful as Lakṣmī, who cause desire to increase, being made most noisy by crowds of Brāhmaṇas who are intent on singing their sacred texts, (and) being bright with men pleased with the lofty encircling rampart that is endowed with excellent qualities.
28. Resplendent is the Chaulukya king and this rampart that carries a house of Lakṣmī (erected) by the king, that possesses a loftily rising body and profusely grants desires to the Nāgaras.
29. As long as the earth keeps all the mountains in their places assigned to them by Pṛthu, as long as the ocean, the glory of king Śagara, endures, so long may this rampart enjoy existence, (which) is the primary cause of the safety of the sacred settlement of Brāhmaṇas and a monument of the fame of the illustrious Chaulukya king.
30. The emperor of poets, called Śrīpāla who finished this great composition in one day and had been adopted as a brother by the illustrious Siddharāja, made this excellent eulogy.

Written Sāmvat 1208, on the 5th (?) day of the bright half of the month of Āśvina, a Thursday, by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇ, Paṇḍit Vālaṇa.

- (1) The causeway leading to the Arjuna-Bārikā, built by the Chalukya king, has been rebuilt by the prince . . .
- (2) In the month of Chaitra, during the bright half, on the first day, a Thursday, in the year (marked) by the Nandas the eight and the kings, 1689, the eulogy was written again.

The eulogy was written by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, Joshi Viṣṇujika, son of Veṇi. May it be well.

APPENDIX F

BHOJA PARAMĀRA AND MAHMŪD OF GAZNA

The inference that Paramadeva, the great king of Hindusthan, whom the Muslim chroniclers record as having driven Maḥmūd of Gazna to retreat through Cutch (p. 140) is supported by a tradition preserved in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Parvan 3, Khaṇḍa 3, Adhyāya 3. According to this tradition Bhoja started for digvijaya. He had with him an army ten thousand strong. He conquered the kingdom of Kashmir, crossed the Indus and vanquished the Mlecchas of Gāndhāra. He then proceeded to the land of Mohammad (Sind) which is described as *Marudeśa*. In that country there was a great temple of Mahādeva (? Makkeshwar Mahādeva) where Bhoja went to worship. Then a description

is given of Bhoja and Kālidāsa's meeting the Mleccha King Mohammad. The Mohamadans are here described as *liṅgacchidi* and *Sikhāhina*. After having returned from Digvijaya Bhoja Rāja spread Sanskrit among the Dvijas and reserved the Prakrit for the Śūdras. He is stated to have allowed the Muslims to inhabit beyond the Indus.

APPENDIX G

BA'ŪRAH

Ba'ūrah is described by *Al-Ma'sūdi* (c. 890-956 A.C.) to be the title of the kings of Qanuj or Jurz. (*Murūj-al-Zahab*, Elliot I, pp. 1825). At the time there was a city of the same name in "the territories of Islam." (Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* I, p. 16).

Meyanard in 1861 transcribed the word as Baourah, though it is stated that there were many variants. (Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, p. 25). Hodiwala reads it as Bozah, Bozoh, or Bodzah.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, writing in 1923 accepted this word as the corruption of Pratihāra or its Prakritā Padhiara. Dr. Ray followed it. Prof. Hodiwala finds in the word, a corruption of Bhoja.

1. The word *Pratihāra* or *Padhiara* can scarcely be corrupted into Ba'ūrah. And *Pratihāra*, as the name of a town is highly improbable.

2. The word Bhoja can only be possible if Prof. Hodiwala's variants are correctly read. But Dr. Ray does not accept these readings and prefers to follow Meyanard's readings. Vide Dr. Ray's article on the word in *I. H. Q.* XVIII, p. 369. Bhoja is a personal name, not a title. The Apabhraṁśa of *Bhoja* is *Bhuyara* or *Bhuyaraja* or *Bhuyad*. *Bhuyara* may be original of *Ba'ūra* and there may be a *Bhojanagar* in North-Western India.

3. Varāha, Barah, or Baurah may be the same. It is a title. A Varāhanagar is possible. In Gujarat for instance there is Varahi the name of village. But it was not a title so far known to have been adopted by any of the successors of Mihira Bhoja.

4. These considerations indicate the difficulty of accepting Ba'ūrah to be the corruption of Pratihāra.

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

MAPS :

- I. Gūrjaradeśa in 641 A.C. showing Yuan Chwang's Journey.
- II. Imperial Gūrjaradeśa under the Pratihāras—c. 900 A.C.
- III. Map of India showing the territorial divisions according to Rajaśekhara's *Kāvya-Mimāṃsā*—c. 910 A.C.
- IV. Empire of Jayasimha Siddharāja—1094-1143 A.C.
- V. India (c. 1040 A.C.) showing the Empire of Bhoja Paramāra and that of the Colas.
- VI. Lake Shahasraliṅga—The Plan of the up-to-date excavations. "*Reproduction by courtesy of the Archaeological Department, Baroda*". See pp. 161 and 174-177.

PLATES :

SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

- I. Statue of Vanarāja Cāyā. (Installed in the famous Pañcasāra Pārśvanātha Jain temple at Pāṭāṇa.)
- II. Image of Sarasvatī. (This image was originally installed in Bhoja Paramāra's Temple of Learning at Dhārā. The inscription found on it (dated v.s. 1091)—"Om Śrīmad-Bhoja narendracandranagarīvidyādhari" etc. helps us in its identification. The original is at present in the British Museum and this plate is from a reproduction of it in *Rupam* No. 17, January 1924, which also contains full details of the inscription.
- III. The Chratrabhuj Temple on Gwalior Fort. This is excavated from the solid rock close to the Lakshman Gate of the eastern entrance. It is of small size, 12 feet square, with a portico in front, 10' by 9'. It bears two inscriptions which mention that it was constructed in v.s. 932 by one Alla, who was appointed Koṭṭapāla (guardian of the fort) of *Gopagiri* (Gwalior) during the reign of Ādivarāha Paramēśvara Bhojadeva. The image and other sculptures therein were mutilated by the order of Baber in A.C. 1527. Ref. *ASI*, Vol. II, and *E.I.* I, pp. 156 & 159. (*Reproduction by courtesy of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior*).
- IV. Torāṇa of the famous Rudramahālaya Temple (built by Siddharāja Jayasimha at Siddhapura.) (*Reproduction by courtesy of the Archaeological Department, Baroda*). See pp. 122, 174 & 178.

COINS

- V. (a) Two Gold Coins of Siddharāja Jayasinha. These are the only gold coins of Siddharāja Jayasinha so far known. They form part of a hoard discovered at Pandwaha in U. P. and are at present kept in the Lucknow Museum. The metal is pure gold and both the coins bear the legend *Śrī Siddharājah* in characters of the 11-12th centuries on both the sides. They weigh 66 and 65 grains respectively. For further details see *JRASB*, Vol. III, p. 117.
- (b) This is a specimen of the Ādivarāha coins of Mihira Bhoja (see p. 89). They are minted in silver alloy. On the one side they bear the inscription *Śrīmad Ādi Varāha*, with marks below indicating the fire altar. The reverse shows a man with a boar's head (*varāhāvatāra*) with a solar wheel. Mihira Bhoja used the *Biruda Ādivarāha* identifying himself with the *Varāhāvatāra* of Viṣṇu. Rude copies of these coins were current up to the 11th and 12th centuries A.C.

PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

(All from the *Pāṭaṇa Jain Bhandar*.)

- VI. (1) The last leaf of manuscript of *Yogaśāstrīsamuccāya* written in the reign of Karnaḍadeva, v.s. 1146, when Muñjāla was the Prime Minister.
- (2) The last leaf of a manuscript of *Niśthacūṇī*, written in v.s. 1157 in the reign of Jayasinhadeva.
- (3) The last leaf of the manuscript of *Puṣpavālikathā*, written in v.s. 1191, in the reign of Siddharāja Jayasinha, when Gāṅgila was the Prime Minister.
- (4) The last page of the manuscript of *Āraśyakasūtra* written in v.s. 1198, when the Cāhamāna King Maharājādhirāja Paramēśvara Anṇorājadeva was ruling at Ajmer.
- VII. (1) The last page of the manuscript of *Vitarāgasūtra* composed by Śrī Hemacandrācārya for the study of King Kumārapāla. It is written in v.s. 1228, when Maharājādhirāja Paramārhat Kumārapāla-deva was ruling.
- (2) The last page of *Upadeśakandalī* written in v.s. 1296, when Mahārājādhirāja Bhimadeva was ruling and Śrī Tāta was the Prime Minister.
- (3) The last page of *Dhātupārāyaṇa* of Śrī Hemacandrācārya, written in v.s. 1307 during the reign of Viśaladeva.

- (4) The last page of the manuscript of *Jñānapañcamikathā* of Maheś-varasūri, written in v.s. 1313, in the reign of Visaladeva when Nāgaḍa was the Prime Minister.
- VIII. (1) The last page of the manuscript of *Daśavaikālikaṭikā* written in v.s. 1326, when Mahārājādhirāja Arjunadeva was ruling at Pāṭaṇa and Sābhadeva was Prime Minister.
- (2) The last page of the manuscript of *Prakaraṇapustikā* written in v.s. 1334 during the time of the Governorship of Paramapāsupatā-cārya Gaṇḍatṭhaspati at Devapattana (Somantha Pāṭaṇa).
- (3) & (4) First and last pages of the manuscript of *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* of Śrī Hemacandrācārya written in v.s. 1335, when Sāraṅga-deva was ruling.
- XI. (1) The last page of the manuscript of *Kalpasūtra* written in v.s. 1336 when Sāraṅgadeva was ruling at Pāṭaṇa.

PAPER MANUSCRIPT

- XI.(2) This is the only available sheet of a Paper manuscript written in v.s. 1350 when the Cāhamāna King Hammiradeva of Raṇatham-bhor was ruling.

COPPER PLATES

VARUṆAŚARMA PLATES (pp. 71 & 73)

- X. These are two copper plates recording the grant of one field by Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍarāya when Mūlarājadeva was ruling. The grant is for the the worship of a Jain temple at Varuṇaśarma village which is identified with Vadsama in Mehsana District, Baroda State. It is dated 1033 v.s. One of the interesting points in this inscription is that it equates the Vikrama Saṁvat with the Gupta Saṁvat. For further details see 'भारतीय विद्या' Vol. I, Pt. 1.

AMṚTAPĀLA PLATES.

- XI. (a) & (b) This grant of land by Mahārājādhirāja Amṛtapāladeva of Vaḍapadraka maṇḍala, a feudatory of Bhīmadeva Cālukya, is inscribed in two plates, 14" by 10½". The grant is made to a Brahmin named Madana and is dated v.s. 1242. For further details see 'भारतीय विद्या' Vol. II, No. 2.

GUJARAT
IN 641 A.D.

GHAGHARA

KACCHA

ANARTA

MALAVA

SURASTRA

VALABHIPURA

Gandhinagara

Ujjain

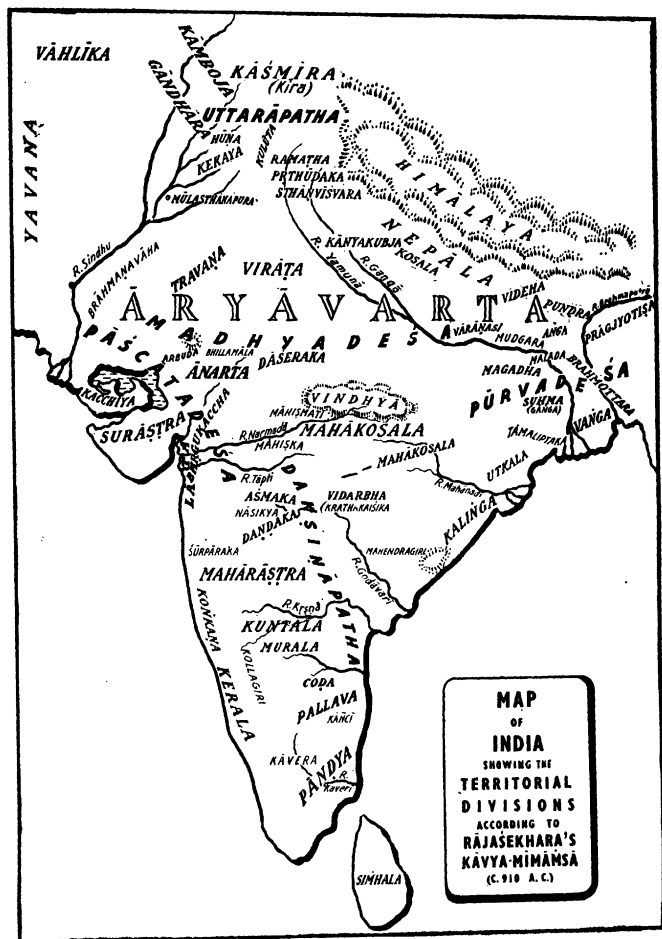
Devapattana

Yuan Chwang's Journey 641 A.D.

MAP I

MAP II

The Glory that was Gūrjarades'a-Part III



MAP III

[illegible]

Of

JAYASIMHA SIDDHARĀJA
(1094-1143 A.D.)

The Glory that was Gūrjarades'a-Part III



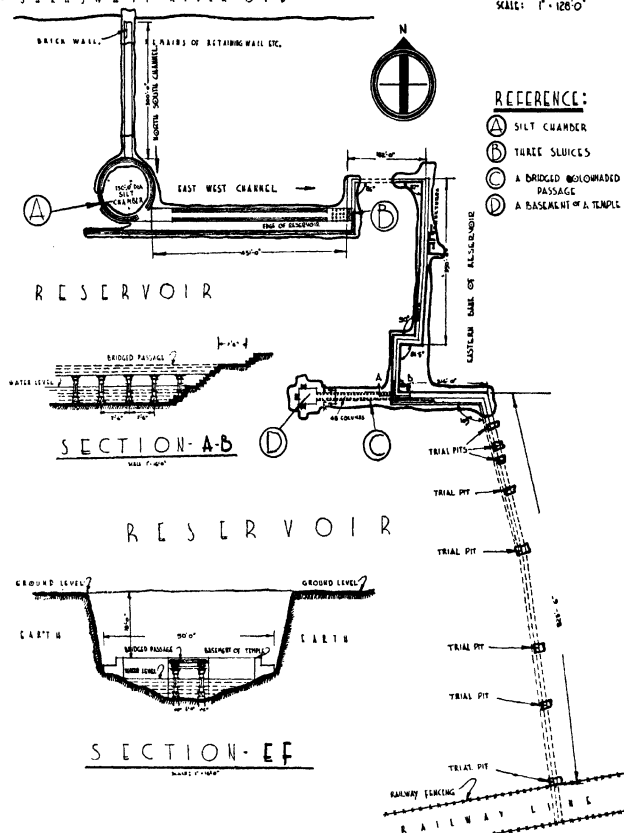
MAP V

SAHASRALINGA-RESERVOIR.

EXCAVATION AT PATAN.

← SARASWATĪ RIVER DID

SCALE: 1" = 126' 0"



Adgha
DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY,
BARODA STATE

The Glory that was Gūjarades'a-Part III



PLATE I

The Glory that was Gūjarades'a-Part III



PLATE II

The Glory that was Gūrjarades'a-Part III

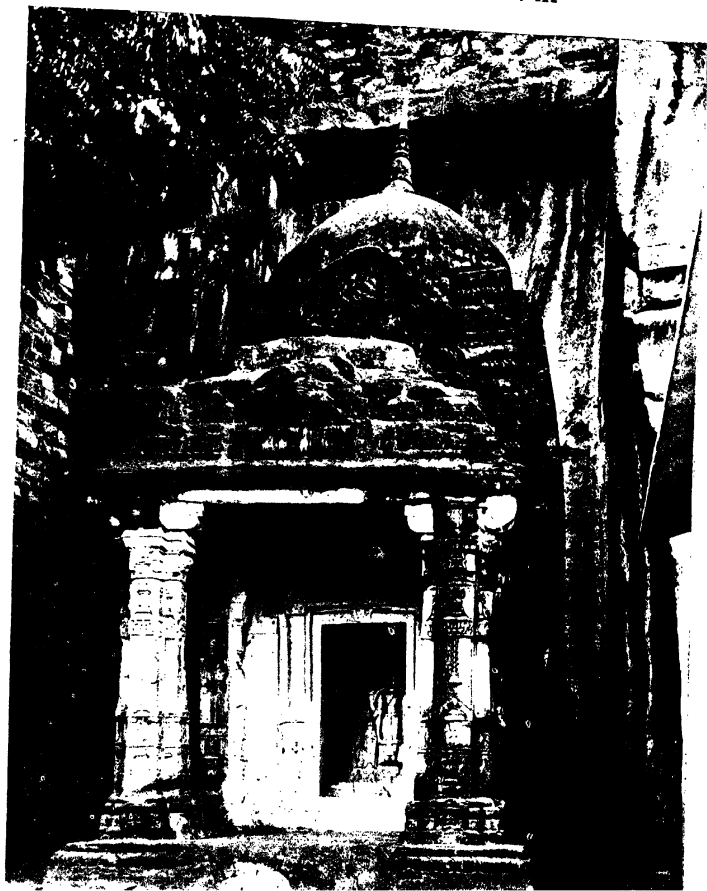


PLATE III

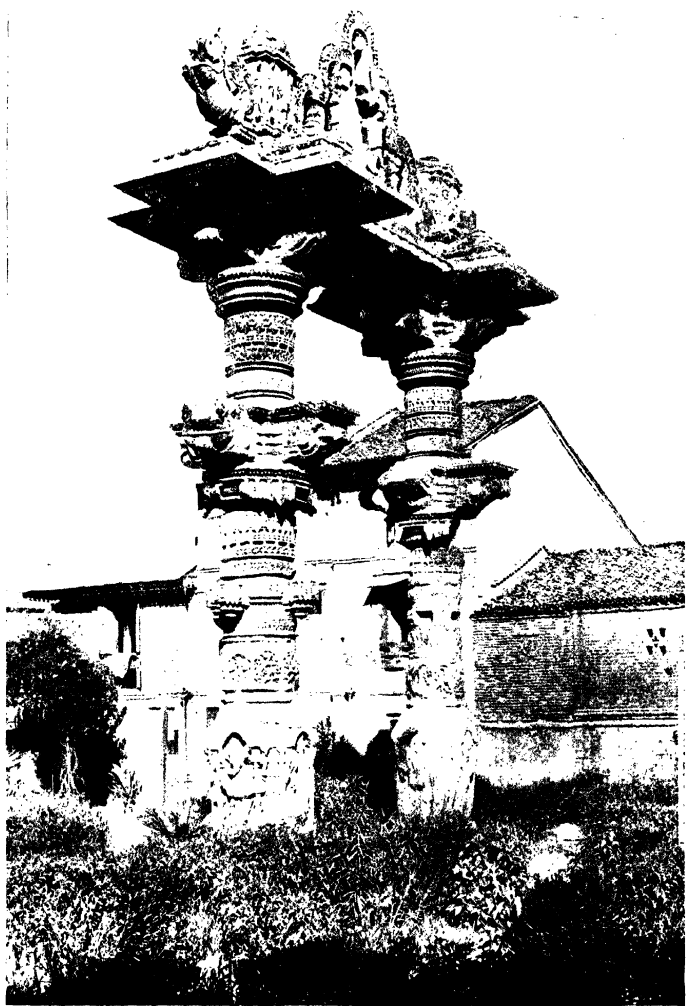


PLATE IV

The Glory that was Gūjarades'a Part III

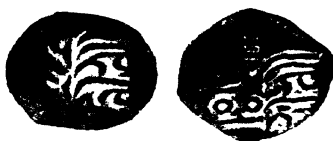


PLATE V

तामसातःपरश्रवाः॥५॥हमित्रीतया
शमसंवादिताकमावपालयया
दि०त्तामाःआदिश्रीमदयादि
सखीकमारपालसद्वक्त्यापदि
पदिपुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा

दशादिपुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
दशादिपुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
दशादिपुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
दशादिपुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा

नडापुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
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नडापुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा

तामसातःपरश्रवाः॥५॥हमित्रीतया
शमसंवादिताकमावपालयया
दि०त्तामाःआदिश्रीमदयादि
सखीकमारपालसद्वक्त्यापदि
पदिपुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा

नडापुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
नडापुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
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नडापुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा
नडापुष्टतोलयदकालप्रवलेभा

नानाप्रधानसंघाप्रमोदोत्सवः ॥ ३८ ॥ आद्याणकः मद्रुषो
न्यायुस्यारख्याकथितानि शिष्टादिनापटः पटुषा
छन्दादिपत्रवाग्नीचुगादिस्त्रिभुक्कादावाज्ञाधिना

दिशतीनामताः प्रसूय
एतद्व्याकल्प्योवाः ॥ ३९ ॥
आग्नीनां रागादवस्थाविम
वावावाः ॥ ४० ॥



प्रायः प्राणिनामोऽज
संयतः ॥ ४१ ॥
अथवाः प्राणिनिवर्तमाना
श्रीसद्यः प्रहारकश्चाऽथ

॥ ४३ ॥

यो वा शक्रांडः पशुः समासुः ॥ ४० ॥ अथ ॥ ४१ ॥ अथ ॥ ४२ ॥
त्रिकवदिः ॥ ४३ ॥ अथ ॥ ४४ ॥ अथ ॥ ४५ ॥
लंकृतसमसपशुः ॥ ४६ ॥ अथ ॥ ४७ ॥ अथ ॥ ४८ ॥
रामश्चरपरममादश्चर श्री आ
तापविरुद्धावलीविराजमान
दिवकल्याणं विजयराष्ट्र ॥ ४९ ॥
अथ ॥ ५० ॥ अथ ॥ ५१ ॥ अथ ॥ ५२ ॥
कोयस्तु ॥ ५३ ॥ अथ ॥ ५४ ॥ अथ ॥ ५५ ॥
अथ ॥ ५६ ॥ अथ ॥ ५७ ॥ अथ ॥ ५८ ॥
अथ ॥ ५९ ॥ अथ ॥ ६० ॥ अथ ॥ ६१ ॥
अथ ॥ ६२ ॥ अथ ॥ ६३ ॥ अथ ॥ ६४ ॥
अथ ॥ ६५ ॥ अथ ॥ ६६ ॥ अथ ॥ ६७ ॥
अथ ॥ ६८ ॥ अथ ॥ ६९ ॥ अथ ॥ ७० ॥
अथ ॥ ७१ ॥ अथ ॥ ७२ ॥ अथ ॥ ७३ ॥
अथ ॥ ७४ ॥ अथ ॥ ७५ ॥ अथ ॥ ७६ ॥
अथ ॥ ७७ ॥ अथ ॥ ७८ ॥ अथ ॥ ७९ ॥
अथ ॥ ८० ॥ अथ ॥ ८१ ॥ अथ ॥ ८२ ॥
अथ ॥ ८३ ॥ अथ ॥ ८४ ॥ अथ ॥ ८५ ॥
अथ ॥ ८६ ॥ अथ ॥ ८७ ॥ अथ ॥ ८८ ॥
अथ ॥ ८९ ॥ अथ ॥ ९० ॥ अथ ॥ ९१ ॥
अथ ॥ ९२ ॥ अथ ॥ ९३ ॥ अथ ॥ ९४ ॥
अथ ॥ ९५ ॥ अथ ॥ ९६ ॥ अथ ॥ ९७ ॥
अथ ॥ ९८ ॥ अथ ॥ ९९ ॥ अथ ॥ १०० ॥

The Glory that was Gūjarades'a-Part III

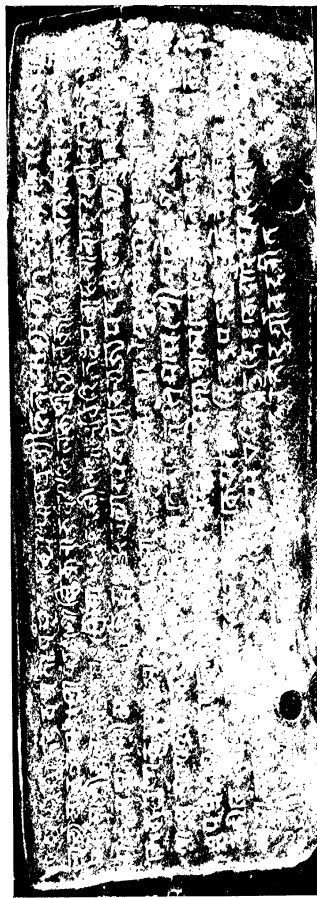


PLATE X

The Glory that was Gūjarades'a-Part III

[illegible]

